

the chronological method, assembling biographies of the transmitters, and by establishing various canons for determining the value of its different classes. The ancient Indians, so far as is known, never made any attempt at a rigorous and consistent treatment of the *isnād*, nor are they known to have developed the chronological method. Neither does the early literature of the Jews reveal any use of the chronological method, something which renders their '*isnāds*' valueless. 'In the Talmudic literature', says Professor Horowitz, 'there is no idea of chronological method, and the oldest extant work attempting such an arrangement was composed after 885AD—more than a century later than the earliest Islamic work on *isnād*-critique.' 'From this fact,' he goes on, 'and from the fact that the important Jewish works [of this period] had been composed in the Islamic dominions, it may be inferred that this historical interest was due to the Islamic influence.'²⁸

The Muslims not only gave a scientific form and basis to the system of *isnād*, but also tried to make a comparative study of the various *isnāds* deployed in the literature, with a view to establishing their relative value. It is said that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Maʿīn, and Ibn al-Madīnī once gathered together with some other traditionists and debated which was the most authentic of all *isnāds*. One said that it was the *isnād* Shuʿba-Qatāda-Saʿīd-ʿĀmir-Umm Salama. Ibn al-Madīnī held that it was Ibn ʿAwn-Muḥammad-ʿUbayda-ʿAlī. Ibn Ḥanbal declared that it was al-Zuhri-Sālim-Ibn ʿUmar.²⁹ Al-Bukhārī, however, was of the opinion that the best *isnād* was Mālik-Nāfi-ʿIbn ʿUmar. This *isnād* later prolonged itself through the names of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal, making it one long chain extending from Imam Aḥmad up to Ibn ʿUmar. This *isnād* was dubbed the 'Golden Chain'.³⁰

Ibn Maʿīn, however, considered ʿUbayd Allāh-Ibn ʿUmar-Qāsim-ʿĀʿisha to be the best *isnād*, and called this a 'chain of pure gold'.³¹ Many other traditionists preferred other chains. The consensus among later traditionists, however, was that it is impossible to qualify any *isnād* as the best of all. The judgement of the various authorities must refer to the traditions accepted on the authority of a particular Companion or Follower, or to the traditionists of a particular place.³²

Once it had been introduced into the literature, the *isnād* system was not only continued for four centuries or more,³³ but was also applied to the *ḥadīth* collections themselves and on works on the other Islamic disciplines. Partly in order to reduce the risk of forgery and interpolation, every teacher of every book on *ḥadīth* or a related subject at every period of the history of the literature, gave his students the names of the teachers via whom he had received it from its original author, each of them stating that he read the whole, or a part of it (which had to be specified), with his own teacher. The

certificates of competency of students to teach from a book of *ḥadīth* granted them by their teachers contain not only the statement of the fact that they read it with them, but also the name of their own teachers of the book, and other teachers of their teachers up to its author. Such certificates, called *ijāza*, are the essential qualification of an authentic Muslim scholar.

The practice of retaining the *isnāds* of important books must have been introduced at the time the books themselves were compiled. Dr. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, the world's leading authority on the *ijāza* institution, has traced it back to the fourth century, giving an interesting example.³⁴ Here are a few other instances of books with their own *isnāds*, belonging to an even earlier period.

- (i) A copy of a collection of *ḥadīths* (said to be *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, part XIII) dated 368AH, and preserved in the Municipal Library, Alexandria (no.836B).
- (ii) A copy of the *Kitāb Gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (154-223/770-837), copied at Damascus in 319AH, and the reading of which has been traced back to the author in whose presence the original manuscript was read—a fact recorded on the authority of Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Balkhī.³⁵
- (iii) The most important of all such manuscripts is the fragment of a book on *maghāzī* by Wahb ibn Munabbih. It is preserved among the Schott-Reinhardt Papyri, and has been described by C. H. Becker.³⁶ It is dated Dhu'l-Qa'da 229 (July 844), and bears on its top the *isnād* up to its author.

The practice of specifying the *isnād* was of immense value in preserving the integrity of books in an age in which printing was unknown, and the creation of spurious and distorted works was a relatively straightforward task. In modern times, however, with the arrival of the printing press and the consequent proliferation of identical copies, it has perhaps been rendered less necessary. Human nature, however, is conservative, and the old orthodox norms still survive. No scholar, however competent, is supposed to have the right to teach a *ḥadīth* work for which he has not received the necessary permission from a competent teacher, who must, moreover, himself have been authorised by his own teacher. But this institution, while academically less indispensable than it used to be, still has the merit of maintaining the Islamic disciplines as organic and continuing traditions which represent a living link to the past.

According to the classical traditionists, the *isnāds* of books had to be recorded on their manuscripts also. They held that it was advisable for

students to write on their copies of a book, after the Name of God (the *basma*), the names of their teachers together with their *kunya* and their *nisba*, and the names of the teachers of their teachers right back to the author of the book. Above the *basma*, or on the first page of the manuscript, or at any other prominent place in it, such as the margin, should be inscribed the names of the other students who read the book in the same class together with the owner of the manuscript, and the places and dates at which the various parts of it were read.³⁷

These notes are found on the generality of the manuscripts which are still preserved in the world's great libraries. The manuscripts of the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī,³⁸ of the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī,³⁹ of *al-Mashīkha ma' al-Takhrīj*,⁴⁰ of the *Kitāb al-Kifāya*,⁴¹ of the four volumes of the *Tārīkh Dimashq*,⁴² and of many other *ḥadīth* works, in the O. P. Library of Bankipore; and the manuscripts of the *Sunan* of Abū Daūd⁴³ in the State Library at Berlin, are only a few instances of this; an enormous number of other manuscripts of this type may be seen in the other libraries containing Islamic material scattered around the globe. Of course, there are also manuscripts which contained only a few or even none of the detailed notes mentioned above. These tend to be defective manuscripts from which the parts, usually at the beginning, which contain these notes have been lost; alternatively, they are low-grade manuscripts copied by common scribes for the use of laymen, rather than being destined for specialists in the subject.

This practice appears to have been current among the traditionists since the second century of the *hijra*. Ḥaṣṣ ibn Ghīyāth (d.194/809), the well-known judge, is said to have decided a case on the basis of this usage. Al-Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ (d.187/802), the well-known traditionist and Sufi, is said to have forbidden the traditionists from refusing to issue students with their certificates when they deserved them. Al-Zuhri (d.124/741) is also credited with this view.⁴⁴

This scholarly practice, which has proved of immense value in enabling us to construct an image of the early *ḥadīth* science and the milieu in which it flourished, seems to be unique in the world's literary history, just as the Islamic *ḥadīths* themselves are unique in employing a thorough and systematic method of source identification. Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Syriac manuscripts rarely if ever supply us with such a wealth of information about a book's provenance and use.

The *isnād* system, while originating in connection with the *ḥadīth* literature, was in due course extended by the Arab authors to many other genres, including geography, history, and prose fiction.⁴⁵ 'There are works', says Margoliouth,

of which the subject-matter is so frivolous that one marvels at the trouble taken by the author to record the name of each transmitter and the date and place at which he heard the narrative; an example is the *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāq* of al-Sarrāj, a collection of cases wherein men and women are supposed to have died of love, where the author records with minute accuracy the date at which he heard the story and gives similar details of the transmitters.⁴⁶

5.2 ACADEMIC PROCEDURES

The imperative of preserving the legacy of the Prophet, whose teachings and example underpinned the Islamic way of life, obliged the *ḥadīth* scholars to be almost obsessively accurate. There were certainly numerous forgers of *ḥadīth*; but these remained marginal and despised, and had little to do with the literature as such. Those who were mainly responsible for its development strove to be as exact as possible. While some remained faithful only to the message presented in a *ḥadīth*, without attaching the highest importance to the exact words used, others tried to be faithful to the words as well as the ideas. They reproduced each word and letter, energetically avoiding the least deviation from what they themselves had received. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, in several chapters of his *Kitāb al-Kifāya*, shows how exact some traditionists had been with regard to every word and letter in a *ḥadīth*.⁴⁷ Ibn ʿUmar, for instance, did not like to change the order of words in a phrase even when it did not affect the meaning in the slightest. Mālik ibn Anas tried to be exact about each and every letter, while Ibn Sīrīn did not approve of making corrections to a *ḥadīth* even in cases where it was certain that a reporter had made an error.⁴⁸

The care and exactitude of the leading traditionists is further illustrated by the principles which they established for the method of acquiring knowledge, and the associated duties of teachers and students. These principles had been discussed in detail since the second Islamic century, and are explained in the various works on the *ḥadīth* sciences (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*).

The first problem in the theory of *ḥadīth* instruction is that of the age at which it may be commenced. The traditionists of Kūfa fixed this at the age of twenty; those of Basra, the age of ten; and those of Syria, the age of thirty. According to a majority of the later traditionists, however, the study of *ḥadīth* may be commenced at the age of five.⁴⁹

In any case, the study of *ḥadīth* should be preceded by that of Arabic grammar and language, so that mistakes arising from pure linguistic ignorance could be detected or avoided.⁵⁰ ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, the famous

traditionist of Merv, spent more money on learning the Arabic language than on traditions, attaching more importance to the former than the latter, and asking the students of *ḥadīth* to spend twice as long on Arabic studies than on *ḥadīth*. Ḥammād ibn Salama is said to have remarked that he who takes to *ḥadīth* without knowing grammar is like an ass which carries a sack without corn. Al-Aṣmaʿī held that someone who studied *ḥadīth* without learning grammar was to be categorised with the forgers of *ḥadīth*;⁵¹ and similar remarks are credited to Shuʿba and al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Mughīra.⁵² Sibawayh, the great grammarian, took to the study of grammar only because Ḥammād ibn Salama had pointed out that he had made a mistake over the text of a *ḥadīth*.⁵³

Having learnt these preliminary subjects, the student should purge his mind of all worldly considerations. He should nurture good character, seek the help of God in all his efforts, and strain every nerve towards the acquisition of knowledge, not for his own aggrandisement, but in order to benefit the community. He should begin his study with the best teachers of his town, and carry it on by making journeys to other centres of academic excellence, and by acquiring the knowledge of the greatest exponents of the field. He should not, however, concern himself with gathering the greatest possible number of *ḥadīths*, but should instead hear and write them down, understand them fully, be aware of their strength or weakness, their theological importance and implications, the proper significance of the words used in them, and the character of those through whom they have been handed down.

The following account, by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ of Ceuta (d.544/1149), gives an interesting portrait of the decorum and sobriety which characterised the traditional *ḥadīth* lesson:

One of the rights of the scholar is that you should not be persistent when questioning him, nor gruff when answering him. Neither be importune if he is tired, nor catch hold of his robe when he rises to depart. Do not point to him, or spread abroad some private information about him, or speak ill of anyone in his presence. Do not seek out his failings; when he slips, wait for him to recover and accept his apology. You must revere and esteem him, for the sake of God. Do not walk in front of him. If he needs anything, you should make haste to serve him before the others. You should not find his long company tedious, for he is like a date-palm that you are sitting beneath, waiting for a windfall. When you arrive, greet him in particular, and all who are present.

All this should be for the sake of God; for a learned man receives more reward from God than someone who fasts, prays, and fights in God's path, and when he dies, a hole appears in Islam which remains until the Day of Judgement, unless it be filled by a successor who is his like. The seeker of knowledge, moreover, is accompanied by the Angels of Heaven.⁵⁴

Of the technical aspects of learning *ḥadīth*, the traditionists have mentioned the following eight forms of instruction:

I *Samāʿ*. Under this procedure, the student attends the lectures of a traditionist, which may take the form of a simple narration of the traditions, or be accompanied by their dictation (*imlāʾ*), either from memory or from a book.⁵⁵

II *Qirʾa*. Here the student reads to the traditionist the traditions which have been narrated or compiled by the latter. Alternatively, one may hear the traditions while they are recited by another student to a traditionist—on condition that he is attentive to what is recited, or compares his own copy to what is being recited.⁵⁶

III *Ijāza*. This is to obtain the permission of a scholar to narrate to others the traditions compiled by him. This may be granted in different ways, some of which are recognised by the majority as valid, while others are rejected.⁵⁷

IV *Munāwala*. This is to obtain the compilation of a tradition together with his permission to narrate its contents to others; a procedure recognised as valid by most authorities. If it takes place without his permission, most scholars regard it as unsound.⁵⁸

V *Mukātaba*. This is to receive certain written traditions from a scholar, either in person or by correspondence, with or without his permission to narrate them to others.⁵⁹

VI *Iʿlām al-Rāwī*. The declaration of a traditionist to a student that the former received certain specified traditions or books from a specified authority, without giving the student permission to narrate the material concerned.⁶⁰

VII *Waṣīya*. To obtain the works of a traditionist by his will at the time of his death.⁶¹

VIII *Wijāda*. To find certain traditions in a book, perhaps after a traditionist's death, without receiving them with any recognised authority.⁶²

The first two of these methods are recognised by the traditionists as the preferable techniques for the transmission of knowledge. The rest are dismissed as invalid by some, and accepted on various conditions by others.

None the less, the student who gains his knowledge of *ḥadīth* by any one or more of the above methods will not be recognised as a traditionist unless he also acquires the necessary information about the life and character of the narrators, and the degrees of the reliability of the various traditions, and other connected matters. Such of them as combine all these and other qualities are known as *muḥaddith*, or *ḥāfiẓ*, according to the degree of perfection they have obtained.⁶³

Students of *ḥadīth* who have mastered the above conditions and information, as well as ancillary subjects, may deliver lectures on the subject, once, twice, or three times a week, if their intention is exclusively the propagation of knowledge. Before going to their lectures, they should bathe, perform their ablutions, and put on clean, pure garments. They should locate themselves in a prominent and elevated place, and deliver lectures while standing. They should keep perfect order during their lectures, and appoint assistants to repeat their words to students sitting at a distance.

Lectures should be preceded by recitations from the Qur'ān, praises of God, and prayers for His Prophet, the fountainhead of knowledge. After this, the lecturer should recite and dictate traditions, narrating one tradition from each of his teachers, giving preference to the short ones which have theological or legal importance, specifying all their narrators and the method by which he received them, introducing them with expressions particularly suited to the traditions received by the different methods. If his teacher had read out the traditions to him, he should begin with the word *ḥaddathanā* ('he related to us'), or *akhbaranā* ('he informed us'), and so on, according to the standard convention. If he or any of his fellow-students read out the traditions to his teacher who heard it, he should begin with the words *qara'tu 'alā* ('I read out to'), or *qurī'a 'alayhi wa-anā asma'* ('it was read out to him, while I heard'). In the case of the *ijāza*, he should begin by saying, 'I found it in the handwriting of such-and-such a person', or 'I found it in his book' or 'in his own handwriting', and so on.

Lectures may be delivered either from memory—which is preferable—or from books, on condition that these be written either by the lecturer himself, or any other person of reliable character; and provided further that the reliability of the manuscripts is absolutely proved to the lecturer. In case the lecturer finds any discrepancy between the contents of the manuscript and what he remembers, or between his own version of a tradition and that of

other traditionists, he should point this out to his students. In case the lecturer narrates certain traditions in a non-*verbatim* form, he must be well-versed in the subject, so that he may be certain that the change in expression would cause no change in his meaning. He should also add at the end of every *ḥadīth* such words as might show that the words used in it were his own. In case he finds any mistake in the text of a *ḥadīth*, he should narrate it first in its corrected form, and then specify the form in which it was related to him. If he has received a tradition from more than one narrator, in different words conveying the same idea, he should narrate it, giving the name of every narrator and pointing out that the expressions used were by certain narrators, whom he should also name. In case he has received a part of a tradition from one narrator, and another part from another, he should point this out to his students. If there had been any negligence on the part of the lecturer when he received a tradition, which might have affected his knowledge, he should not fail to bring such negligence to the attention of his audience. In short, it is a duty of the *ḥadīth* lecturer to convey the material to his students exactly as he himself received it, and to add his own comments on it, in such words as could not be mistaken for a part of the tradition. He is not permitted to make the least alteration, even, for instance, by changing the phrase *Rasūl Allāh* ('the Messenger of God') into *Nabī Allāh* ('the Prophet of God'). He should finish his discourse by relating instructive and attractive, historical and humorous stories which encourage his hearers towards faith, righteousness, kindness, and good manners.⁶⁴

Although the emphasis in Islamic culture has always been on carefully memorised information, for 'he who has not memorised a fact, does not know it', the traditionists have also tried to maintain a comparable level of care and exactitude in writing their material down. For this they established a range of principles and conditions, to eliminate as far as possible the possibility of mistaken information being transmitted by the writers and readers of *ḥadīth*.

Students of *ḥadīth* who choose to record them in writing must use clear, distinct and bold letters, each letter being so written as not to be liable to confusion with any other letter. Dots of pointed letters are to be correctly placed, and those without them are to be made distinct with additional signs (which are thoroughly discussed in the works of *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*). Special attention is to be paid to rare and archaic words and proper names, which in addition to the text are to be noted on the margin in distinct separate letters. Such expressions as 'Abd Allāh should be completely written on one and the same line. The various traditions are to be separated from one another by small circles in which dots may be put after the manuscript has been

compared with its original copy. The soundness of sound traditions, and the defects of defective ones, are to be indicated by special signs. If, for instance, the chain of authority of a tradition is broken, or if any part of it contains any obvious or hidden defect, these points should be clearly marked.

Once the manuscript is completed, it should be carefully compared with the original; and all mistakes of commission and omission rectified. All omissions should be put down on the right hand margin, to which a line should be drawn from the word in the text after which the missing part should fall. The mistakes of commission should be either struck out or erased. It is, however, preferable to pen through them in such a way as to keep them legible, while showing that they are deleted.

In the text of his manuscript, the writer should always follow a particular version of a book or individual tradition. Differences in other versions and associated criticism may be noted clearly in the margin.

Students who write down traditions at the dictation of their teachers are required to be extremely vigilant and precise in their writing, and in putting dots wherever they might be necessary. They are also obliged to put down in a prominent part of the manuscript the names of their teachers together with other particulars about them, the names of all the fellow-students who attended these lectures, and the time and place when and where the discourses were delivered.⁶⁵

The above are only the more important of the detailed requirements for the learning, teaching and recording of traditions, which have been discussed by the specialists since the second century of the *hijra*, with the most exhaustive, minute details, which remind us yet again of the care and precision which they sought to maintain at every stage of the process of the transmission of *ḥadīth*.

5.3 SCHOLARS AND THE STATE

While almost all of Arabic literature developed under the encouraging patronage of the caliphs and their courtiers, so that almost every literary figure 'basked in the sunshine of their generosity', the scholars of *ḥadīth* were generally either ill-treated by those who reigned in the name of the Islamic religion, or, in their pious stoicism, were given to rejecting and refusing favours if these were ever offered to them. None of the compilers of the important and authoritative collections of *ḥadīth* received any post, purse or privilege from the caliphs or their officials. Almost the whole of the orthodox mainstream of this literature evolved as a result of the spontaneous religious enthusiasm of the Muslims, and paid little attention to the caliphs and their representatives.

Throughout the reign of the Umayyads (with the exception of the devout rule of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who did assist in the *ḥadīth* compilation process), the strict traditionists had been either hostile or neutral towards the state. Ibn 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Sīrīn, Ibn al-Musayyib, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and other pivotal traditionists, had all adopted this attitude. 'Since the death of Sa'īd', says Goldziher, 'the pious traditionists disliked the state of affairs under this rule. They became indifferent to the tyrannical government, and passively resisted it.' 'In return', he adds, 'they were hated and despised by the ruling circles.'⁶⁶ These austere and devout men and women believed and declared that association with the rulers was a source of sin.⁶⁷

There were other early traditionists, however, who did enjoy some degree of patronage from the Umayyad regime, and often refused to consider it as sinful to help the rulers of the day. Most of them did not, however, overstep certain limits, nor did they forge traditions in their favour. Among this type may be included traditionists such as 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, Rajā' ibn Ḥayawayh, and Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Zuhri, all of whom enjoyed limited patronage from the caliphs, but at the same time retained their academic independence.⁶⁸ Some traditionists criticised them for this co-operation, but their veracity and reliability have never been seriously questioned by any of them. For instance, while Goldziher claimed that al-Zuhri was a forger of traditions in favour of the Umayyads,⁶⁹ Horovitz has shown that this claim is false and tendentious.⁷⁰ In fact, al-Zuhri at times enraged some of the caliphs by quoting traditions against their interests, and sticking to these traditions in spite of the fury of his patrons.⁷¹ It is none the less true, however, that some supporters of the Umayyads did overstep the limits of proper co-operation: 'Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam, for instance, forged and tried to propagate traditions in their favour. Such activities, however, were easily detected by their more pious contemporaries.

During the reign of the Abbasid caliphs, who tried to win over the pious Muslims by adhering to an outward show of religious commitment, the attitude of the various classes of traditionists towards the state continued to be largely unchanged, despite the fact that this period witnessed the evolution of the great achievements of the science of *ḥadīth*. Some traditionists, such as Mālik ibn Anas and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal suffered considerably under the Abbasid order.⁷² Others, such as al-Bukhārī, were annoyed by officials.⁷³ Imām Muslim was wholly indifferent to their blandishments. In fact, none of the compilers of the important *ḥadīth* anthologies received or expected any help or encouragement from these caliphs.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES

WE have seen that every *ḥadīth* consists of two parts: the *isnād* (the chain of its transmitters), and the *matn* (text). Each of these two parts is of equal importance to the traditionist. The latter, as the report of an act or statement of the Prophet, helps to build up a picture of his teachings and thus forms a basis for Muslim beliefs and rites; while the former represents the 'credentials' of the latter. The traditionists, therefore, treat and consider traditions with one and the same *isnād* and different texts, as well as traditions with identical texts and differing *isnāds*, as entirely independent traditions.

To check the *isnād* it is essential to know the life and career as well as the character and scholarship of all the individuals named. And in order to understand the exact significance of the *matn*, and to test its soundness, it is necessary to know the meaning of the various expressions it contains, especially those which appear rare or obsolete, and also to learn its relation to the *matn* of other traditions, some of which may be either corroborated or contradicted by it.

The Muslim community has thus developed several ancillary branches of literature, which are summarised in famous works such as those of Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmhurmuzī (d.360/970), Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d.430/1038), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d.403/1012), al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (d.405/1014), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d.643/1245), and many others. The number of such ancillary sciences is conventionally put at a hundred, and each of them is said to be important enough to warrant treatment as an independent branch of knowledge.¹ Some are concerned only with the *isnād* of the traditions; others relate to the *matn*, while still others deal with both together. We propose here to deal with only two of these

disciplines, and briefly discuss their evolution and influence on the literature.

6.1 ASMĀ' AL-RIJĀL

(Biography and Criticism of *Ḥadīth* Narrators.)

One of the richest and most important branches of the literature deals with the biography of *ḥadīth* narrators. Under the rubric of this science are included all the works which deal with (a) the chronology; (b) the biography; (c) the criticism of the narrators of traditions or of any class of narrators, or with any such aspect of their life as may help to determine their identity and reliability.

A. *Chronology.*

The consideration of chronology commenced and developed at a comparatively early date; although opinions differ as to the exact time when Muslims first began to employ it. According to some authorities, dates were introduced into official correspondence by the Prophet himself in the fifth year of the *hijra*, when a treaty was concluded between him and the people of Najrān.² But it is more generally held that this was done by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, acting on the unanimous advice of a congregation of important Muslims, in the sixteenth or seventeenth year of the *hijra*.³ The same farsighted caliph followed a chronological principle in the award of military pensions (*diwān*) to the various groups of Muslims according to their priority in accepting the faith, a principle which was already accepted by the Community as a basis of great distinction. Its use assumed greater importance on account of the need to interpret the historical verses of the Qur'ān, and of the determination of the dates of revelation of the legal verses, in order to determine which had been abrogated and which remained in force.

The Muslims followed the lunar calendar, which had been adopted by the Arabs long before the advent of Islam. Originally, however, the Meccans had followed a solar calendar, as is evident from their division of the year according to seasons, and from the names of some of the months.⁴

In *ḥadīth* science, chronology was an important expedient. 'Whenever you have a doubt about the veracity of a narrator,' remarks Ḥaṣṣ ibn Ghiyāth (d. 160/776), 'test him by means of the years' (i.e. his birth and death dates). Sufyān al-Thawrī is said to have declared: 'When the narrators forged traditions, we used the *tārīkh* (chronology) against them'.⁵ Ḥassān ibn Ziyād observed, 'We never used against the forgers any device more effective than the *tārīkh*.'⁶

It is clear, then, that chronology had been used as early as the second century in order to test the statements made by narrators. Some examples of this are cited by Imām Muslim in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*; others are plentifully found in the works of *asmā' al-rijāl*.

B. *Biography.*

The composition of biographical works properly equipped with chronological information began before the end of the first century of the *hijra*.

Horovitz has shown that Abān (d. between 86 and 105AH), the son of the caliph 'Uthmān; 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (26–94/646–712); and Shurayḥ (who is said to have been born in 20AH, and lived more than 100 years) had collected a good deal of material relating to the biography of the Prophet. Soon after them, Wahb ibn Munabbih wrote a book on *Maghāzī*, a fragment of which is preserved at Heidelberg.⁷ Wahb was followed by numerous biographers of the Prophet during the second and third centuries. The fragment, and the texts of extant biographies, reveal a thorough use of the chronological system by their authors.

C. *Criticism of Narrators.*

A general critical appraisal of the reliability of the narrators, based on knowledge of their life and character, as an aid to determining the veracity of *ḥadīth* reports, seems to have been customary before the period when the *isnād* became long enough to admit the application of the chronological method. Ibn 'Adī (d.365/975), in the introduction to his book *al-Kāmil fī du'afā' al-rijāl*, gives a general survey of the development of narrator criticism from its beginnings down to his own time. According to him, narrators were criticised and assessed by Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit, and Anas (all Companions); and by al-Sha'bi, Ibn Sīrīn and Ibn al-Musayyib (who were Successors). It did not, however, become common until the next generation, for the simple reason that the events narrated were recent, and the narrators were for the most part reliable. In the next generation, when the narrators of doubtful veracity grew in number, narrator criticism grew in importance. About the middle of the second century, therefore, we find al-A'mash, Shu'ba and Mālik criticising a large number of narrators, declaring some to be weak or unreliable. At around the same time flourished two of the greatest critics in this field: Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d.198/813) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maḥdī (d.198/813), whose verdict on the narrators' reliability or otherwise was widely accepted as final. Where they differed in their opinion about a narrator, the traditionists used their own knowledge and discretion. They were followed by another generation of critics, such as the great Yazīd ibn Hārūn.⁸

Chronology, biography and criticism, then, were applied together in assessing the worth of *isnāds*. Having realised their importance, the traditionists compiled, before the end of the second century, independent works dealing with the narrators in chronological order. 'Such registers of the narrators of tradition', says Otto Loth, 'as had been chronologically arranged and in which every Muslim traditionist in general received a definite place, had been already in common use among the traditionists as indispensable handbooks in the second century.'⁹

Nevertheless, it is not easy to determine the precise period at which the works of *asmā'* began to be compiled. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions two books called *Kitāb al-Tārikh* in his section dealing with works about jurists and traditionists. One of these is by the great Ibn al-Mubārak, while the other is by al-Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 165-75/781-91), a senior disciple of Imām Mālik.¹⁰ These authors had little interest in history as such; and their works are not included in the section of the *Fihrist* devoted to historical works; and it would seem probable, therefore, that they are early works of *asmā'*. Horowitz is correct in his opinion that the earliest work on the subject was composed about the middle of the second century.¹¹ Also important was the *Tārikh al-Ruwāt* of Yaḥyā ibn Ma'in (158/774-233/847).¹² Other products of the second century include such works as the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, *Kitāb Tārikh al-Fuqahā'*, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā' wa'l-Muḥaddithīn*, *Kitāb Tasmiyat al-Fuqahā' wa'l-Muḥaddithīn*,¹³ *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt man Rawā' an al-Nabī*, by al-Wāqidi and Haytham ibn 'Adī, both of whom died at the beginning of the third century, and whose works served as important sources for the later writers on the subject, such as Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844), Ibn al-Khayyāt (d. 240/854),¹⁴ and others.¹⁵

As all the early works on *ḥadīth* have been lost, it is impossible to determine their general plan and the nature of their contents. But from the later works which were based on them, and which still exist, and also from the general tendencies discernable among the traditionists of that time, it may be inferred that their contents consisted mainly of: (a) short descriptions of the genealogies and dates of birth and death; (b) some biographical matters; and (c) a brief critique of their reliability, backed up with the opinions of important authorities and contemporaries. These are the main features of the contents of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, an immensely important work which will be described later in this chapter; and these matters, as we have seen, had received serious attention from the *ḥadīth* experts before the end of the second Islamic century.

The compilation of the *ḥadīth* narrators' biographies, thus begun in the second century, was continued with great enthusiasm in the centuries that

followed. In the third century, not only various specialists in the subject, such as Ibn Sa'd, Ibn al-Khayyāt, and Ibn Abī Khaythama (d.279/892), but also almost every traditionist of repute compiled simultaneously with his collection of traditions, some biographical material relating to his authorities. All the compilers of the six standard *ḥadīth* collections wrote one or more important books on the biography of the narrators of traditions.¹⁶ Other traditionists also, such as Ibn Abī Shayba (d.235/849) and 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, wrote books of this type.

During the fourth and succeeding centuries, such compilations continued to be produced in bulk throughout the Islamic world. The Ḥijāz, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, North Africa, Spain and India all produced numerous biographers of the traditionists.

This genre naturally helped the growth of more general biographical literature in the Arabic language. During this same period, works were compiled which presented biographies of poets, grammarians, physicians, saints, jurists, judges, calligraphers, lovers, misers, idiots, and almost every other human type. 'The glory of the Muhammadan literature', says Sprenger, 'is its literary biographies. There is no nation, nor has there been any, which, like them, narrated the life of every man of letters.'¹⁷ And according to Margoliouth: 'The biographical literature of the Arabs was exceedingly rich; indeed it would appear that in Baghdad when an eminent man died, there was a market for biographies of him, as is the case in the capitals of Europe in our time . . . The literature which consists in collected biographies is abnormally large, and it is in consequence easier for the student of the history of the caliphate, to find out something about the persons mentioned in the chronicles than in any analogous case.'¹⁸

The enormous scale of these biographical dictionaries may be suggested by the large number of people whose biographies they contain. Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* gives us the biographies of more than four thousand traditionists. Al-Bukhārī's *Tārīkh* deals with more than 42,000, while al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, in his *History of Baghdad*, offers short but carefully honed biographies of 7,831 persons. Ibn 'Asākir, in his eighty-volume *History of Damascus*, collects a far larger number, while Ibn Ḥajar, in his *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, and al-Dhahabī, in his *Mizān al-'Itidāl*, summarise the biographical notices on 12,415 and 14,343 narrators of tradition respectively. These figures, which may be easily augmented from other works, are sufficient to show the magnitude of biographical literature in Arabic, a resource which offers a detailed portrait of a remarkably literate society.

The works on *asmā'* differ greatly in their scope, plan, and detailed contents, according to the main object of their compilers. Some contain

extremely short notices on a particular class of narrators; such is the *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz* of al-Dhahabī,¹⁹ and various other works on weak or unreliable narrators. Others record only names, *kunyas*, and *nisbas*; to this class belong the various works on *al-Asmā' wa'l-Kunā*,²⁰ and the well-known *Kitāb al-Ansāb* of al-Sam'ānī.²¹ Still others contain biographical details of all narrators who lived in or visited any particular town: examples include the *Tārikh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the *Tārikh Dimashq* of Ibn 'Asākir, and others.²² Some deal exclusively with reliable or unreliable narrators: the *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī Ḍu'afā' al-Rijāl* of Ibn 'Adī²³ and Nasā'ī's *Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā' wa'l-Matrūkīn*²⁴ are examples.²⁵ Some restrict themselves to offering biographies of narrators used in particular collections of traditions, or in a group of collections. To this class belong a large number of works which deal with the lives of the narrators on whom al-Bukhārī or Muslim, or the authors of all the six standard works, have relied.

Works on *asmā'* may therefore be divided into two broad groups: general and specific.

6.1a GENERAL WORKS

These are works which contain biographies of all narrators, or at least of all the important ones among them who were known to the author. Most early books on the subject belong to this category: for instance, the *Ṭabaqāt* of Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, the three *Histories* (*Tārikh*) of al-Bukhārī, the *Tārikh* of Aḥmad ibn Abī Khaythama, and many other works on the *asmā' al-rijāl*, which were compiled during the third century of the *hijra*, and which try to include all the well-known narrators.

6.1b THE ṬABAQĀT OF IBN SA'D

The earliest of all these is the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* (*Great Book of Classes*) by Ibn Sa'd. The life of its author has been well summarised by two distinguished German orientalisks, Loth²⁶ and Sachau;²⁷ whose account is briefly summarised in the following paragraphs.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Manī' al-Zuhrī belonged to a family of Babylonian slaves of the family of the great traditionist 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, who had granted them their freedom. Born at Baṣra, then a great centre of *ḥadīth* learning, Ibn Sa'd was attracted by the charms of Tradition, in the pursuit of which he himself travelled to Kūfa, Mecca and Medina, where he must have stayed for a considerable period. At last, he came to Baghdad, the greatest centre of intellectual activity in his time. Here

he came into close contact with al-Wāqidi, one of the early Arab historians. He worked as al-Wāqidi's literary assistant for some time, thereby acquiring his soubriquet *Kātib al-Wāqidi* ('Wāqidi's Scribe'). Gaining a reputation at Baghdad as a traditionist and historian in his own right, Ibn Sa'd soon attracted a band of students, who sat at his feet and studied these subjects with him. One of the most prominent of them was the great historian al-Balādhuri, who in his later career borrowed a great deal from Ibn Sa'd in his important work *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. Ibn Sa'd died in 230/844.

Ibn Sa'd, who possessed immense erudition coupled with an enthusiasm for his subject, was also a great bibliophile, at a time when the possession and collection of books had become something of a fashion among the Muslims. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says: 'He possessed vast learning, knew a great number of traditions—for which he had a great thirst—narrated a good many of them, and collected a large number of books, particularly rare ones, and texts on *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.'²⁸ 'Of the collections of the works of al-Wāqidi', he adds, 'which were in the possession of four persons during the time of Ibn Sa'd, his was the largest.'

Ibn Sa'd made good use of his literary resources in compiling his own works. Two of these, the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nabī*, are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm,²⁹ while a third, a smaller edition of the *Ṭabaqāt*, is mentioned by al-Nawawī³⁰ and others, but is not known to exist today.

Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nabī* constitutes only one part of the *Ṭabaqāt*. It was compiled and completed by the author, but was handed down to posterity by his student, al-Ḥārith ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Usāma (186–282/802–896).

The *Ṭabaqāt* was completely planned and compiled by Ibn Sa'd, but was not completed by him. He appears, however, to have read whatever he had written of this book to his student Ḥusayn ibn Fahm (211–289/826–901), who is reported to have been a keen student of traditions and of the biographies of the narrators.³¹ Ibn Fahm completed the book according to the plan of its author, added to it his short biographical notice as well as notices of certain other narrators whose names had already been included by the author in the general plan of his work, and read it to his own students.

Both of these two books of Ibn Sa'd were received from his two students by some of their common disciples. One of these, Aḥmad ibn Ma'rūf al-Khashshāb (d.322/933) combined them into one book of enormous dimensions,³² and read it out to his students. One of these students, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn 'Abbās (generally known as Ibn Ḥawayyāh, 295–382/907–992) who is celebrated for his interest in the works on the early history

of Islam and for the preservation of the early historical and biographical works of the Arabs, edited the whole work without making any change in its text.³³ His student, al-Jawhārī (363–454/973–1062), handed it down to posterity. Through him are traced back to the author all the extant manuscripts of this great work. All these manuscripts preserve the author's original arrangement of the contents. On the basis of all the various known manuscripts of Ibn Ḥayawayh's edition, the great *Book of Classes* was edited by an enthusiastic band of German scholars, and was published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences.³⁴

In this printed edition, despite various lacunae, we find a detailed biography of the Prophet, and biographical notices for about 4,300 narrators of the various generations down to 238/852, as follows:

Vol I part i (ed. E. Mittwoch). Genealogy of the Prophet, and his biography down to his migration to Medina.

Vol I part ii (ed. E. Mittwoch and E. Sachau, 1917). Biography of the Prophet after the *hijra*, and various related topics.

Vol II part i (J. Horovitz, 1909). The Prophet's campaigns.

Vol II part ii (J. Schwally, 1912). Sickness and death of the Prophet. Elegies written on his death by various poets. Biographies of the jurists and Qur'ān readers who lived in Medina during the Prophetic period, and just after his death.

Vol III part i (ed. E. Sachau, 1904). Biographies of the *Muhājirūn* who took part in the Battle of Badr.

Vol III part ii (ed. J. Horovitz, 1904). As III/i above.

Vol IV part i (ed. J. Lippert, 1906). Biographies of early converts who did not take part at Badr, but had migrated to Abyssinia, and later took part in the Battle of Uhud.

Vol IV part ii (ed. J. Lippert, 1908). Biographies of other Companions who converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca.

Vol V (Ed. K.V. Zetterstéen, 1905). Biographies of the *Tābi'ūn* (Successors) who lived at Medina.³⁵

Vol VI (Ed. K.V. Zetterstéen, 1909). Biographies of the Companions, and other jurists and traditionists, who settled and lived at Kūfa.

Vol VII part i (ed. B. Meissner, 1918). Biographies of the Companions and other jurists and traditionists who lived at Baṣra.

Vol VII part ii (ed. E. Sachau, 1918). Biographies of the Companions and other jurists and traditionists of Baṣra, Baghdad, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, etc.

Vol VIII (ed. C. Brockelmann, 1904). Biographies of the women narrators, including the Companions and the Successors.

Vol IX/i (E. Sachau, 1921). Index of personal names which are the subject of notices.

Vol IX/ii (E. Sachau, 1928). Index of places, tribes, Qur'ānic verses, *ḥadīth*, and poetry.

Vol IX/iii (E. Sachau, 1940). Index of all personal names.

No precise plan has been followed within all the articles of the work. However, those on the Companions are long, and generally contain their genealogy both on the paternal and maternal side, the names of their wives/husbands and children, the time of their conversion to Islam, the part taken by them in the important events of the Prophet's career, the dates of their death, and other matters connected with their habits and lives which the traditionists considered to be of importance. Of course, the reader is very often disappointed with regard to important biographical details which he may naturally expect. But at the same time, he often comes across important historical insights which he may not have anticipated. All these details, however, are entirely wanting in the articles on the later narrators, which do not exceed one or two sentences. Many of them are completely blank, from which fact it has rightly been inferred that these parts were meant by Ibn Sa'd to serve as notes to be developed at some later date, although he died before completing the work.

As Sachau remarks, Ibn Sa'd shows impartiality and honesty, thoroughness, minuteness, objectivity and originality.³⁶ Just as despite his status as a *mawla* of the Hashimites he took no part in their political activism, so in his articles on the various figures of Islam he gave no expression to his personal relation to or prejudice for or against anyone, and merely recorded in a simple style all he knew and considered important about them. His thoroughness is abundantly shown by his constant reference to the various versions of an event as well as to the differences among his authorities. His objectivity is illustrated by the absence of irrelevant material, while his

originality is displayed in his sub-classification of the narrators according to the various provinces in which they dwelt, and the general citing of the *isnād* of the various versions of an event before describing them, and their entire omission in some places.³⁷ Sachau compares him to Plutarch—the main difference (other than length) being due to the fact that Plutarch formed the last link in a long chain of biographers whose contributions to the art he had inherited, whereas Ibn Sa'd had been one of the pioneers in the field.

Be this as it may, the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd is one of the earliest extant works of *asmā' al-rijāl*, containing biographical data on most of the important narrators of the most important period in *ḥadīth* history. As a rich mine of many-sided information about early Islamic history, it may be considered not only one of the most important works of its type, but also one of the most significant works in Arabic literature as a whole. Since the beginning of the fourth Muslim century, it has been used as a source by a large number of authors, including al-Balādhurī,³⁸ al-Ṭabarī,³⁹ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nawawī,⁴⁰ and Ibn Ḥajar,⁴¹ while the prolific Egyptian scholar al-Suyūṭī prepared an epitome of it. As a general biographical dictionary of narrators it appears always to have occupied a unique position among works on *asmā' al-rijāl*. Other works of *Ṭabaqāt* dealt only with particular classes of narrators.

6.1C THE KITĀB AL-TĀRĪKH OF AL-BUKHĀRĪ

Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* was soon followed by works by al-Bukhārī, who claimed to possess at least some biographical information about every narrator of traditions. He compiled three books on the history of narrators. The largest of these, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (*The Great History*), is said to have contained the biographical notices of more than forty thousand narrators. No complete manuscript, however, is known to exist. Only various parts of it are preserved in certain libraries, and on the basis of these the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif press at Hyderabad prepared and published the standard text of the book (1361-62).⁴²

6.1D AL-JARḤ WA'L-TA'DĪL OF IBN ABĪ ḤĀTIM AL-RĀZĪ

This author (d.327/939) followed the example of Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* in including all the narrators known to him, together with such significant information as he could acquire concerning their capacities in *ḥadīth*, followed by his own verdict on each individual. Although ordered

alphabetically (by first letter only), Companions are found first under each letter. For each figure the author provides the father's name, the *kunya*, and his tribal or locational name (*nisba*), his best-known teachers and pupils, the cities where he lived, some of his written works, and, where possible, the date of his death. The work has been printed in eight volumes in Hyderabad (1362-73), together with its important methodological introduction, known as *Taqdimat al-Ma'rifa*.⁴³

6.2 BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES OF PARTICULAR CLASSES OF NARRATORS

Almost simultaneously with the general biographical dictionaries of narrators, there began the compilation of those of particular categories of them. The most important of these are: (a) those containing the biographies of the Companions; (b) those containing the biographies of the narrators who lived in or visited any particular town or province; and (c) those containing the biographies of the narrators who belonged to individual schools of law.

6.2a BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES OF COMPANIONS

These constitute the vital core of the *asmā'* literature. It appears however, that no independent book of this type was written before the third century, when al-Bukhārī compiled a work⁴⁴ which must for the most part have been based on the *Sīra/Maghāzī* literature, the numerous monographs relating to important events in early Muslim history, traditions containing information about Companions, and the earlier, more general works on *asmā'*.

Bukhārī was followed by a great number of authors. These included Abū Ya'la Aḥmad ibn 'Alī (201/816-307/919), Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh al-Baghawī (213/828-317/929), Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Aḥmad (known as Ibn Shāhīn, 297/909-385/995),⁴⁵ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Manda (d.301/913),⁴⁶ Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh (336/947-403/1012),⁴⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (368/978-463/1070) (of Cordoba and Lisbon, the greatest traditionist of his time in the West),⁴⁸ Abū Mūsā Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (501/1107-581/1185), and many others.

On the basis of the works of Ibn Manda, Abū Nu'aym, Abū Mūsā and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the historian and traditionist 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (555/1160-630/1230), compiled his *Usd al-Ghāba*, a dictionary of Companions in which the sources are compared and used with discrimination.⁴⁹ In his introduction, Ibn al-Athīr defines the term *ṣaḥābī*, provides a short sketch of the life of the Prophet, and then sets out in alphabetical order the biographies

of 7,554 Companions. In each article, he tries to give the Companion's name, *kunya*, genealogy, and certain biographical facts. When he differs from his predecessors, he discusses the matter at length, gives reasons for his position, and explains the reasons for his predecessors' mistakes. Despite its many repetitions, the *Usd* is widely appreciated as a solid authority on the subject, and has been summarised by several '*ulamā*', including al-Nawawī, al-Dhahabī, and al-Suyūṭī.⁵⁰

Ibn al-Athīr's work was followed in the ninth century of the *hijra* by a more comprehensive work, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, by Shihāb al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773/1371–852/1448).⁵¹ Born in Old Cairo, he lost both parents when still an infant, and was brought up by one of his relatives, who worked as a merchant. Despite great disadvantages, the orphan excelled in his studies, and soon acquired a knowledge of history, Sufism, doctrine, and *tafsīr*, devoting particular attention to *ḥadīth*. For ten years he sat at the feet of the great traditionist Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (725/1351–806/1404), who had reintroduced the old system of *imlā'* (dictation) of *ḥadīths*.⁵² Ibn Ḥajar in time served as professor at a number of educational institutions, and worked as a judge—a post he accepted after refusing it several times.

He left behind him some 150 books, some of which are incomplete. The *Fath al-Bārī*, a great commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, is sometimes described as the work by which the Muslims scholars repaid the accumulated debt they owed to Imām Bukhārī. In his *Iṣāba*, Ibn Ḥajar assembles the results of the labours of all his distinguished predecessors in the field of biographies of the Companions, criticising them in certain cases, and adding to them the results of his own research. He divides his book into four parts, including 12,267 people, of whom 1,522 were women:⁵³

Part I. Persons directly or indirectly cited as Companions in any tradition, sound, good or weak.

Part II. Persons still young when the Prophet died, but who were born during his lifetime in the family of a Companion, who may hence be considered Companions themselves.

Part III. Persons known to have lived both before and after the advent of Islam, but who are not known ever to have met the Prophet. These are not classified as Companions, but are included because they were their contemporaries.

Part IV. Persons wrongly cited as Companions in other dictionaries.

6.2b BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES OF THE NARRATORS OF A TOWN OR PROVINCE

Another sizeable genre of biographical dictionaries of *ḥadīth* narrators consists of works written according to places or provinces where they lived or which they visited.⁵⁴ Not only almost all the provinces, but almost every important town, had several biographers who collected the lives of every important traditionist or literary figure who was associated with it. Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria, Qayrawān, Cordoba, Mawṣil, Aleppo, Baghdad, Iṣfahān, Jurjān, Bukhāra, Merv, and other places: all had their local historians and biographers of their men of letters.⁵⁵

Many of these provincial historians dealt with the political history of their regions. Many others treated the lives of their literary figures. Still others wrote supplements to earlier regional works, bringing them up to date; some works of this type extend into modern times.

6.2c THE HISTORY OF BAGHDAD BY AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

One of the most important works in this class is al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, which is also the earliest biographical dictionary of literary figures, mainly traditionists, who either belonged to, or delivered lectures in, the great capital.⁵⁶

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392/1002–463/1071), whose full name was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, was the son of a preacher in a village near Baghdad. He began the study of *ḥadīth* at the age of eleven, and in due course travelled to acquire it in Syria, the Hijāz, and Iran, soon becoming an authority on both *asma'* and *ḥadīth*. He lectured on these fields in Damascus, Baghdad and elsewhere, until some of his own teachers, recognising his merit, became his pupils. Finally he settled and taught in Baghdad, where his authority on *ḥadīth* was recognised by the caliph al-Qā'im, and his minister Ibn Maslama, who ordered that no preacher should include in his sermon any *ḥadīth* that was not approved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.

His life in the metropolis was not uneventful. During the revolt of al-Baṣāṣirī (450/1058), when Ibn Maslama was killed, he was forced to leave the city and wander in Syria for several months; and when after the execution of the rebel he returned to Baghdad in 451, he found himself persecuted by the Ḥanbalites on account of his having deserted their

teachings and joining the Shāfi'ites, which led him to more liberal views towards the Ash'arites and the scholastic theologians. Many treatises against him by Hanbalites are mentioned by Ḥājī Khalīfa. Al-Khaṭīb, however, had been fortunate in having attained all his great hopes, namely, to read out his great *History of Baghdad* to his students in that city, and to be buried by the side of the great Sufi, Bishr al-Ḥāfi.⁵⁷

Al-Khaṭīb compiled fifty-six books and treatises, a list of which is provided by Yāqūt.⁵⁸ The *Tārīkh Baghdad* is without question the most important of these. In this monumental work, which he read out to his students in 461/1068, he gives the topography of Baghdad, al-Ruṣāfa and al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon), and then provides biographies for 7,831 eminent men and women, mostly *ḥadīth* specialists, who were either born in the city, or came there from elsewhere and taught. He gives names, *kunyas*, death dates, and some other biographical details, together with opinions of other important traditionists about their reliability. The book begins with the Companions, followed by those individuals who bore the auspicious name of Muḥammad, with the remaining articles being arranged alphabetically.⁵⁹ Al-Khaṭīb always tries to give the source of his information, and often adds notes in which he discusses the reliability of the traditions quoted, and of the reports received by him, attempting to discern the facts without partiality.⁶⁰ He is regarded as the greatest traditionist of his time in the East, rivalled in the West only by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr.

Al-Khaṭīb brought his dictionary down to the year 450AH. A number of successors continued the work after him, and their contributions are also of value. Al-Sam'ānī (506/1113–562/1167), al-Dubaythī (558/1163–637/1239), Ibn al-Najjār (578/1183–643/1245) and others wrote supplements (sing. *dhayl*) to his book, including the eminent men and women who had lived in the city until their own times.⁶¹

6.2d THE HISTORY OF DAMASCUS BY IBN 'ASĀKIR

The plan of al-Khaṭīb's work was followed by Ibn 'Asākir in his huge biographical dictionary of the eminent persons of Damascus, in eighty volumes, which continues to earn the admiration of scholars.

Ibn 'Asākir, whose full name was Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, was born to a respectable and literary family of Damascus in 499/1105. His father, and other members of his family, are all described by al-Subkī as traditionists of some eminence. Some of his predecessors seem to have taken part in the campaign against the Crusaders, and from this it appears that his title Ibn 'Asākir ('son of soldiers') is drawn.

Having studied as a child under his father and other scholars of Damascus, Ibn 'Asākir travelled widely and visited all the important centres of *ḥadīth* learning, a long list of which is given by al-Subkī in his *Ṭabaqāt*. He sat at the feet of more than 1,300 teachers of *ḥadīth* (of whom over eighty were women). At last he returned to settle in Damascus, where he devoted himself to the service of *ḥadīth* and related fields, compiling books, and delivering lectures in a college founded for him by the great general and jurist Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Zanjī. He died in 571/1175.

His keen intellect, sharp and retentive memory, vast knowledge of traditions, sincerity and abstemiousness, and his devotion to the science of tradition, were acknowledged by all his contemporaries. A long list of his works is given by Yāqūt;⁶² many of these are still preserved in the world's libraries.

The most important of these is the *Tārīkh Dimashq*. Begun relatively early in his career at the urging of a friend, it languished for many years, until Nūr al-Dīn al-Zanjī encouraged the author to complete it during his old age.⁶³ In this book, after offering a brief history of Syria in general, and Damascus in particular, and describing the prophets who lie buried there,⁶⁴ and its famous monasteries, Ibn 'Asākir presents the biographies of the eminent men and women of various categories (mostly *ḥadīth* experts), who lived in or visited Damascus. The biographical section commences with those whose names are Aḥmad, which are introduced by a short biography of the Prophet of Islam. In the arrangement of the remaining articles, alphabetical order is observed. Finally we are given articles on men whose names are not conventionally known according to the alphabetic order of the *kunyas*, followed by alphabetically-arranged notices on distinguished women.

No complete edition of the *History* yet exists. It is usually consulted in the abbreviated version of 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq* (Damascus, 1329), which omits *isnāds* and repetitions.

6.2c OTHER LOCAL COLLECTIONS

Like al-Khaṭīb and Ibn 'Asākir, many other traditionists and historians collected together biographies of men of letters who dwelt in specific towns. The best-known of these dictionaries include:

- (i) *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, by Abu'l-Ḥasan Aslam ibn Sahl Baḥshal al-Wāsiṭī (d.288/901).⁶⁵
- (ii) *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaqāt 'Ulamā' Ifriqiya wa-Tūnis*, by Abu'l-'Arab Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qayrawānī (d.333/944).⁶⁶
- (iii) *Tārīkh al-Raqqa*, by Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Qushayrī (d.334/945).⁶⁷

- (iv) *Akhhbār Isfahān*, by Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Isfahānī (d.430/1039).⁶⁸
- (v) *Tārīkh Jurjān*, by Abu’l-Qāsim Ḥamza ibn Yūsuf al-Sahmī (d.427/1036).⁶⁹

Ibn Manda (d.301/911) of Isfahān likewise collected material on his fellow-citizens.⁷⁰ Al-Ḥākim (321/933–405/1014) compiled a highly-regarded list of narrators of Nīsābūr.⁷¹ Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad al-‘Uqaylī, generally known as Ibn al-‘Adīm (588/1191–660/1262) collected the biographies of eminent persons of Aleppo, in thirty volumes, which was later added to by his successors.⁷² Abū Sa‘īd al-Sam‘ānī (506/1113–562/1167) compiled a twenty-volume biographical dictionary mainly dealing with the traditionists of Merv.⁷³ The traditionists of Wāsiṭ, of Kūfa, of Baṣra, of Herāt, of Qazwīn, and many other towns, found able biographers in Ibn al-Dubaythī⁷⁴ (d.558/1162–637/1239), Ibn al-Najjar,⁷⁵ Ibn Shabba,⁷⁶ (173/789–263/876), Ibn al-Bazzaz,⁷⁷ and al-Rāfi‘⁷⁸ respectively.

Provinces as well as towns were treated in this way. Ibn al-Farḍī, Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Ḥumaydī, and others, are among the more outstanding exponents of this genre.

THE DISCIPLINES OF FORMAL CRITICISM

AN integral component of the *ḥadīth* literature is the genre which describes and develops the techniques of *ḥadīth* criticism. This traditionally roots itself in the Qur'ān itself, which contains clear evidence that information is not to be accepted unless its reporters are demonstrably reliable and its likelihood evident. In verse XLIX, 6, it states: 'O you who believe! If an unrighteous person comes to you with a report, ascertain it carefully!' Similarly, the accusation directed against 'Ā'isha is denounced by the Qur'ān as an evident falsehood' because her character was above all suspicion. The Qur'ān similarly rejects as both unreasonable and unfounded the theory of the divine begetting of Jesus.²

After the Prophet's death, when people began to try and recall his words, several Companions were critical of some of the reporters, and rejected some of their reports. 'Alī thus refused to accept a *ḥadīth* told by Ma'qil ibn Sinān.³ 'Ammār ibn Yāsir once reported a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet with regard to the *tayammum* ablution, in a gathering of the Companions, and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb spoke up and said: 'Fear God!'⁴—thereby indicating his disagreement with what 'Ammār had reported. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim contains a report in which Ibn 'Abbās criticises several judgements of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.⁵ When Maḥmūd ibn al-Rabī' reported in an assembly of the Companions that the Prophet had said that no-one who professed that there was no god but God would be sent to hellfire, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī remarked that he did not think that the Prophet had ever said such a thing.⁶ Many other instances of the criticism of Companion-Narrators by their contemporaries (particularly 'Ā'isha, 'Umar, and Ibn 'Aboās), may be easily discovered in works on *ḥadīth* and *asmā'*. These criticisms show that the Companions themselves

were not above criticism. In fact, according to the principles accepted by most of the Sunnī Muslim scholars, no one except a Prophet is infallible (*ma'sūm*); and even Prophets may commit errors in matters which do not concern religion.

The Companions' practice of *ḥadīth* criticism was emulated by people such as Shu'ba ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, who laid the groundwork for the science of the principles of *ḥadīth* criticism. Thus developed two major branches of literature: *ilm riwāyat al-ḥadīth*, also called *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* (the science of *ḥadīth* narration, or technical *ḥadīth* vocabulary), and *ilm al-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* (the science of criticism of the reporters). In the present chapter, we will deal with each of these in turn.

7.1 'ILM RIWĀYAT AL-ḤADĪTH

The earliest written work connected with this is the *Risāla* (*Treatise*) of Imām al-Shāfi'ī (150/767–204/820), later regarded as the founder of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*. It was followed by the works of Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmhurmuzī (d. ca. 350/961), al-Ḥākim (d.403/1012),⁷ Abū Nu'aym (d.430/1038), and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (463–1071), who systematised the material outlined by his predecessor in his *Kitāb al-Kifāya*.⁸ He was followed by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d.544/1149), author of *al-Ilmā'*.⁹ After them, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d.643/1245) compiled his *Kitāb 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, in which he added his own observations to the material gathered by earlier authors.¹⁰ Other scholars to have written on the field include Ibn Kathīr (d.774–1372), Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, and others.¹¹ ('Irāqī's thousand-line poem, *al-Alfiya*, which deals with *muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth*, is often memorised today, and studied with the commentary of al-Sakhāwī, the *Fath al-Mughīth*).¹² There is also Suyūṭī's *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*,¹³ an exhaustive commentary on the *Taqrīb* of al-Nawawī, and the commentary of al-Zurqānī (d.1122/1710) on al-Bayqūnī's didactic poem on *ḥadīth* criticism.

Al-Shāfi'ī, followed by others, defined the qualifications necessary for a transmitter of *ḥadīth* as follows:

The transmitter must be of firm faith, and well-known for his truthfulness in what he reports. He should understand its content, and should know well how the change in expression affects the ideas expressed therein. He should report verbatim what he learnt from his teachers, and not narrate in his own words the sense of what he had learnt. He must possess a retentive memory, and should remember his book well, if he reports from it. He

should be free of making a report on the authority of those whom he met of something he did not learn from them. His report must stand in agreement with what has been reported by those who are recognised to have memories of quality, if they also have transmitted these reports.¹⁴

Shāfiʿī is here articulating the view of all the main *ḥadīth* authorities, jurists as well as traditionists, to the effect that a transmitter, in order to be acceptable, must be of firm faith, mature age and proven integrity, and possess a good memory. He must be well-versed in the method of learning, preserving and transmitting the traditions. He must also be thoroughly conversant with the names, careers and characters of the earlier reporters of traditions, as well as with their various classes, and their weaknesses and special characteristics. According to most writers, traditions are to be divided into three main classes, on the basis of their reliability on account of the quality of *isnād*, the nature of the *matn*, and their acceptance or rejection by the Companions, the Followers and the Successors.

These three classes are: (i) *Ṣaḥīḥ*, or 'sound'; (ii) *Ḥasan*, or 'fair'; and (iii) *Ḍaʿīf*, or 'weak'.¹⁵ The latter class is further subdivided according to the extent of the deficiency of its reporters, or in the texts of the reports themselves. Subcategories include: the *muʿallaq* ('suspended'), the *maqtūʿ* ('interrupted'), the *munqaṭiʿ* ('broken'), the *mursal* ('incomplete'),¹⁶ the *muṣaḥḥaf* (containing a mistake either in the *isnād* or the *matn*), the *shādh dh* ('rare': a tradition with a reliable *isnād* but whose *matn* is contrary to another similarly attested tradition), the *mawḍūʿ* ('forged'), and so on. These and other categories of *ḥadīth* are explained in great detail in the works on *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*. But the authorities on the subject differ from one another in their interpretation of some of these technical terms. Such differences are analysed in the abovementioned works of Sakhāwī and Suyūṭī.

The writers on *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* also describe the methods of learning, preserving, teaching, and writing down the traditions in book form. They have also described methods of collating manuscripts with their original copies, as well as other philological and technical issues.

7.2 'ILM AL-JARḤ WA'L-TA'DĪL

This, the 'science of criticising the reporters of *ḥadīth*', forms an important sub-discipline of the field of *asmāʾ*, which has been more generally dealt with on pp.91–106 above. A short but complete description of its origins and evolution may be found in the work of al-Jazā'irī.¹⁷

A further categorisation of *ḥadīths* distinguishes (i) those that have been narrated by all their transmitters verbatim, and (ii) those traditions the contents of which have been reported by their transmitters in their own words.

Another, and important, subdivision of traditions relates to the parallel authentication of *isnāds* during the first three generations. Three such types are identified: *mutawātir*, *mashhūr*, and *āḥād*.

A *Mutawātir* tradition is one which has been transmitted throughout the first three generations of Muslims by such a large number of narrators that the possibility of fabrication must be entirely discarded.¹⁸ Opinions differ on the number of transmitters necessary for *tawātur* to be attained during each of the three generations: some authorities fix it at seven, some at forty, some at seventy,¹⁹ and others at still higher numbers.²⁰ Very few of the traditions received by us belong to this category. They have been collected by several scholars, including al-Suyūṭī, in his *al-Azhār al-Mutanāthira fi'l-Akhhār al-Mutawātir*,²¹ and al-Zabīdī, in his *al-Durar al-Mutanāthira fi'l-Aḥādīth al-Mutawātir*.²²

A *Mashhūr ḥadīth* is one which, although transmitted originally in the first generation by two, three or four transmitters, was later transmitted, on their authority, by a large number in the subsequent two generations.²³ To this class, sometimes also known as *al-mustafīd*, belong a large number of traditions which are included in all the collections of *ḥadīths* and constitute the main foundations of Islamic law.

The *Āḥād* are traditions which were transmitted during the first three generations of Muslims by one (or two, three or four) narrators only.²⁴

7.3 THE LEGAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADITIONS

The legal importance of these three degrees of *ḥadīths* are abundantly discussed in the works of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). The first two classes are recognised by all the important Sunnī jurists as the second source of Islamic law, after the Qur'ān. The *āḥād* (also known as *khābar al-wāḥid*) are accepted as taking precedence over *qiyās* (analogical induction) by all Sunnī schools with the exception of that of Imām Mālik, who gives priority to *qiyās*.

Acceptance of *ḥadīth* as a source of Islamic law is advocated in the Qur'ān: 'Whatever the Messenger gives you, take; and whatever he forbids, abstain from.'²⁵ The Prophet also emphasised the authoritative status of the *ḥadīth*,²⁶ and his policy of using knowledge of *ḥadīth* as a criterion when appointing government officers was followed by his immediate successors.

According to al-Dārimī, whenever any legal case came before Abū Bakr, he looked into the Qur'ān, and decided the case on its basis. If he found no applicable judgement in the Qur'ān he referred to the usage of the Prophet. If he failed to find it there, he asked the other Companions, and if they informed him of any decision of the Prophet in the matter, he thanked God and decided the case accordingly. But if the Companions were unable to cite any Prophetic precedent, he gathered the leaders of the people; and after they arrived at an agreed decision, he judged accordingly.²⁷

This was also the practice of 'Umar. Confronted with a legal case in which a woman had miscarried following an attack from another woman, he asked an assembly of the Companions to relate to him any *ḥadīth* which might furnish guidance on the subject. Al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba was able to do this; but 'Umar asked him to produce a witness to support his narration. Muḥammad ibn Maslama stepped forwards and concurred that the *ḥadīth* was genuine; and 'Umar thus accepted the *ḥadīth*, and gave his judgement on the case.²⁸ A large number of similar cases are mentioned in the *ḥadīth* works, which relate to controversies as diverse as the fixing of the number of *takbīrs* in the *janāza* prayer, the levying of the *jizya* tax on Zoroastrians,²⁹ and the use of *tayammum* in cases of night pollution.³⁰ In all these cases, *ḥadīths* were sought and laws were established on their authority.

Cases also arose which were decided by the Companions according to their own opinion (*ra'y*), on account of the absence of any *ḥadīths* on the subject.³¹ They did, of course, amend their decisions whenever a *ḥadīth* came to light. There are cases reported in which Companions such as Abu'l-Dardā' and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī migrated from a place because some of the people living there preferred their own opinions to the traditions which were related to them.³²

There were, however, cases in which 'Umar and some other Companions, on being told of a *ḥadīth* on any given subject, did not follow it, and gave their judgement against its obvious sense and according to their own views (*ra'y*). During the caliphate of 'Umar, for instance, there arose the important problem of the right to the fifth-part of booty for the relatives of the Prophet. The Prophet's practice was in favour of this. It was discussed for several days in an assembly of the Companions, and after a long discussion 'Umar decided against the recorded practice of the Prophet.³³ Several other cases of this type are recorded in the *ḥadīth* works. A close scrutiny, however, of all these cases shows that the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet was not rejected *tout court*; it was either differently interpreted in the light of circumstances and other *ḥadīths*, or the memory and understanding of those who reported it were the subject of doubt among those present.

A related issue, that of the basic nature and character of the Prophetic words and example, is also investigated by the scholars, many of whom hold that every one of his actions and words is of a religiously significant character, and must be literally followed by every Muslim. Others draw a distinction between what he said or did as a Prophet, and what he said and did as an 'ordinary mortal', the latter having, according to them, no sacred character and hence no consequent duty of obedience. The Prophet himself had said: 'I am a human being. When I command you to do anything concerning your religion, then accept it; while when I command you to do anything on account of my personal opinion, then you should know that I am also a human being';³⁴ i.e., that the latter recommendation may or may not be regarded as a model. These personal actions and preferences of the Prophet are also divided into two classes: firstly, matters restricted to him alone on account of his position as a prophet (such as certain additional prayers at night); and secondly, those which are applicable to the Muslim community as a whole.

All the orthodox jurists, however, hold that every tradition of the Prophet which is proved to be reliable according to their canons, and is of a religious character, is of a legislative weight second only to the Qur'ān itself.³⁵ On this point there is no dispute between the traditionists and those early jurists, particularly of Iraq, who were known as *ahl al-ra'y* (the scholars who placed some reliance on independent judgement). All important jurists of the first three generations preferred traditions to *qiyās*; there were even some who refused to express their own opinion on legal matters in cases in which no tradition was known to them.³⁶ The practices followed by the Companions were also accepted as a legal authority by the Muslims of the following two generations because they reasonably presumed that they must have been based on the traditions and practices of the Prophet, which had informed the lives of those who were by his side. This view dictated the legal position of Imām Mālik, who accepted the practices of the Companions, and by extension the inhabitants of the Prophetic city, as a pre-eminent legal authority.

The jurists did, however, differ among themselves over the legal significance of those traditions on the reliability of which they were uncertain, particularly the *āḥād*. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa and Imām Mālik did not consider all *ḥadīths* of this class as superior to *qiyās*. Imām Mālik preferred *qiyās* to all *āḥād* traditions which were not backed by the practices of the Companions and the Followers. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa accepted some of them, and rejected others, on the basis of his own criteria; following in this the practice of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.³⁷ He accepted them in connection with ordinary

matters, if he was satisfied about the legal acumen and instinct of the reporter; while in cases of intricate legal problems he rejected them unless they were supported by circumstantial evidence and fundamental Islamic principles. Imām al-Shāfiʿī, however, preferred the *āḥād* traditions over *qiyās* in every case. He endeavours to justify this in his works by citing a large number of *ḥadīths* in which the reports of single individuals were accepted by the Prophet himself, and, after him, by many of the Companions. It is thus evident that the difference of opinion between the various orthodox schools of Islamic law does not relate to the acceptance of *ḥadīth* in general, but to a particular class of it.³⁸

7.4 TECHNIQUES OF MATN ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM

Much of the attention of the traditional *ḥadīth* scholar focuses on the chain of authorities (*isnād*) by which it is attested. He or she will also, however, pay attention to the transmitted text (*matn*) itself.³⁹ The mere formal soundness of an *isnād* is not considered definitive proof of the actual genuineness of the text of the traditions to which they are attached. According to the traditionists, even if the *isnād* is completely without fault, the text should still be analysed before the genuineness of its attribution can be established. According to a well-known principle: 'If you encounter a *ḥadīth* contrary to reason, or to what has been established as correctly reported, or against the accepted principles, then you should know that it is forged.'⁴⁰ Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṭayyib is reported to have remarked that it is a proof of the forged character of a tradition that it be against reason or common experience; or that it conflict with the explicit text of the Qur'ān and the *Mutawātir* tradition, or the consensus (*ijmāʿ*); or that it contains the report of an important event taking place in the presence of a large number of people (when it is related by a single individual); or that it lays down severe punishment for minor faults, or promises high rewards for insignificant good deeds.⁴¹ Al-Ḥākim gives several examples of forged and weak *ḥadīths* having sound *isnāds*.⁴² Al-Suyūṭī remarks that such *ḥadīths* are encountered frequently.⁴³ In fact, the only sure guidance in the determination of the genuineness of a tradition is, as remarked by Ibn al-Mahdī and Abū Zarʿa, a faculty that a traditionist develops through a long, continuous study of the *ḥadīths*, and as a result of continuous discussion of them with other scholars.⁴⁴ All such research, of course, must be reconciled with a historical awareness of the circumstances (*asbāb al-wurūd*) in which a given Tradition was generated, for many *ḥadīths* were relevant only to the early period of the Prophet's ministry, and were later abrogated by other teachings.⁴⁵

On the basis of the above mentioned understanding, the following general principles for the criticism of the texts of the traditions have been laid down:

- (a) A tradition must not be contrary to the other traditions which have already been accepted by the authorities on the subject as authentic and reliable.⁴⁶ Nor should it contradict the text of the Qur'ān,⁴⁷ a *Mutawātir ḥadīth*, the absolute consensus of the community (*ijmā' qat'i*), or the accepted basic principles of Islam.⁴⁸
- (b) A tradition should not be against the dictates of reason, the laws of nature, or common experience.⁴⁹
- (c) Traditions establishing a disproportionately high reward for insignificant good deeds, or disproportionately severe punishments for ordinary sins, must be rejected.⁵⁰
- (d) Traditions describing the excellent properties of certain sections of the Qur'ān may not be authentic.
- (e) Traditions mentioning the superior virtue of persons, tribes, and particular places should be generally rejected.⁵¹
- (f) Traditions which contain detailed prophecies of future events, equipped with dates, should be rejected.⁵²
- (g) Traditions containing such remarks of the Prophet as may not be a part of his prophetic vocation, or such expressions as are clearly unsuitable for him, should be rejected.⁵³
- (h) A *matn* should not violate the basic rules of Arabic grammar and style.⁵⁴

It is on account of these principles that a large number of traditions which are included in some 'sound' *ḥadīth* collections have been rejected by the compilers of the standard collections of Tradition. Much material of this type has been identified and included in special anthologies of weak or forged traditions, like those of Ibn al-Jawzī,⁵⁵ Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī,⁵⁶ al-Shawkānī,⁵⁷ and others.⁵⁸ Shawkānī's collection is perhaps the most judicious, drawing on the researches of earlier writers, and giving the names of the *ḥadīth* works in which the *ḥadīths* in question are to be found. Moreover, in many cases, he has identified the narrators who were responsible for the forgeries.

Even in the standard collections of *ḥadīth*, despite the great care of their compilers, a few weak or forged traditions may still be encountered. These are discussed by the commentators on these works. Some examples of this follow:

- (a) The *ḥadīth*, reported by al-Bukhārī, to the effect that Adam's height was sixty cubits, has been criticised by Ibn Ḥajar on the basis of archaeological measurements of the homesteads of some ancient peoples, which show that their inhabitants were not of an abnormal height.⁵⁹
- (b) The *ḥadīth*, also reported by al-Bukhārī that the verse of the Qur'ān (XLIX, 9) which runs: 'And if two parties of the believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them' refers to the conflict between the sincere Companions and the followers of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy, has been criticised by Ibn Baṭṭāl, who points out that the verse refers to a quarrel between two groups of Muslims, whereas Ibn Ubayy had not accepted Islam even outwardly at the time the verse was revealed.⁶⁰
- (c) The *ḥadīth* that if the Prophet's son Ibrāhīm had lived, he would have been a prophet, has been severely criticised by al-Nawawī, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athīr; while al-Shawkānī has included it on his list of forged traditions.⁶¹
- (d) The *ḥadīths* reported by Ibn Māja on the excellence of his home city Qazwīn have been declared forged by the traditionists.
- (e) The traditions narrated by some traditionists to the effect that 'he who loves, keeps chaste, and dies, dies as a martyr', is declared by Ibn al-Qayyim as forged and baseless. He comments that even if the *isnād* of this *ḥadīth* were as bright as the sun, it would not cease to be wrong and fictitious.⁶²
- (f) The *ḥadīth* reported by al-Bukhārī that Abraham will pray to God on Doomsday, saying 'O Lord, Thou hast promised me that Thou wilt not humiliate me on the Day of Judgement' is criticised and rejected by al-Isma'īlī, whose judgement is reported by Ibn Ḥajar.⁶³
- (g) Most of the traditions concerning the advent of the Dajjāl and the Mahdī towards the end of time, are declared by the traditionists to be spurious, and are included in the *mauḍū'āt* works.

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Such, then, are the broad outlines of the Muslim science of *ḥadīth* criticism. Without question one of the most sophisticated scholarly enterprises ever undertaken, it remains today an essential underpinning for the religion of Islam, and the lives of those who try to live by it. Taught in the ancient universities of the Muslim world, such as al-Azhar in Cairo, al-Qarawīyyīn in Fez, and Deoband in India, it continues to be a lively and popular academic field. And with the arrival of the contemporary Islamic awakening, which has been accompanied by a sizeable increase in the number of texts made available, both ancient and modern, it seems likely to play a central

role in the elaboration of the legal codes of the modern Islamic world, as the Muslims move away from the European legal systems bequeathed by the former colonial powers, and seek to develop a code which allows them to live in the modern world while remaining faithful to their own distinctive and sacred identity.

APPENDIX I

WOMEN SCHOLARS OF ḤADĪTH

HISTORY records few scholarly enterprises, at least before modern times, in which women have played an important and active role side by side with men. The science of *ḥadīth* forms an outstanding exception in this respect. Islam, a religion which (unlike Christianity) refused to attribute gender to the Godhead,¹ and never appointed a male priestly elite to serve as an intermediary between creature and Creator, started life with the assurance that while men and women are equipped by nature for complementary rather than identical roles, no spiritual superiority inheres in the masculine principle.² As a result, the Muslim community was happy to entrust matters of the greatest religious responsibility to women, who, as 'sisters to men', were of equal worth in God's sight. Only this can explain why, uniquely among the classical Western religions, Islam produced a large number of outstanding female scholars, on whose testimony and sound judgement much of the edifice of Islam depends.

Since Islam's earliest days, women had been taking a prominent part in the preservation and cultivation of *ḥadīth*, and this function continued down the centuries. At every period in Muslim history, there lived numerous eminent women-traditionists, treated by their brethren with reverence and respect. Biographical notices on very large numbers of them are to be found in the biographical dictionaries.

During the lifetime of the Prophet, many women had been not only the instance for the evolution of many traditions, but had also been their transmitters to their sisters and brethren in faith.³ After the Prophet's death, many women Companions, particularly his wives, were looked upon as vital custodians of knowledge, and were approached for instruction by the other Companions, to whom they readily dispensed the rich store which they had gathered in the Prophet's company. The names of Ḥafṣa, Umm Ḥabība, Maymūna, Umm Salama, and ʿĀ'isha, are familiar to every student of *ḥadīth* as being among its earliest and most distinguished transmitters.⁴ In particular, ʿĀ'isha is one of the most important figures in the whole history of *ḥadīth*

literature—not only as one of the earliest reporters of the largest number of *ḥadīth*, but also as one of their most careful interpreters.

In the period of the Successors, too, women held important positions as traditionists. Ḥafṣa, the daughter of Ibn Sirīn,⁵ Umm al-Dardā' the Younger (d.81/700), and 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān, are only a few of the key women traditionists of this period. Umm al-Dardā' was held by Iyās ibn Mu'āwiya, an important traditionist of the time and a judge of undisputed ability and merit, to be superior to all the other traditionists of the period, including the celebrated masters of *ḥadīth* like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sirīn.⁶ 'Amra was considered a great authority on traditions related by 'Ā'isha. Among her students, Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm, the celebrated judge of Medina, was ordered by the caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz to write down all the traditions known on her authority.⁷

After them, 'Ābida al-Madaniyya, 'Abda bint Bishr, Umm 'Umar al-Thaqafiyya, Zaynab the granddaughter of 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, Nafisa bint al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād, Khadija Umm Muḥammad, 'Abda bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and many other members of the fair sex excelled in delivering public lectures on *ḥadīth*. These devout women came from the most diverse backgrounds, indicating that neither class nor gender were obstacles to rising through the ranks of Islamic scholarship. For example, 'Ābida, who started life as a slave owned by Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, learnt a large number of *ḥadīths* with the teachers in Medina. She was given by her master to Ḥabīb Daḥḥūn, the great traditionist of Spain, when he visited the holy city on his way to the Hajj. Daḥḥūn was so impressed by her learning that he freed her, married her, and brought her to Andalusia. It is said that she related ten thousand traditions on the authority of her Medinan teachers.⁸

Zaynab bint Sulaymān (d.142/759), by contrast, was a princess by birth. Her father was a cousin of al-Saffāh, the founder of the Abbasid dynasty, and had been a governor of Baṣra, Oman and Baḥrayn during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr.⁹ Zaynab, who received a fine education, acquired a mastery of *ḥadīth*, gained a reputation as one of the most distinguished women-traditionists of the time, and counted many important men among her pupils.¹⁰

This partnership of women with men in the cultivation of the Prophetic Tradition continued in the period when the great anthologies of *ḥadīth* were compiled. A survey of the texts reveals that all the important compilers of traditions from the earliest period received many of them from women *shuyūkh*: every major *ḥadīth* collection gives the names of many women as the immediate authorities of the author. And when these works had been

compiled, the women traditionists themselves mastered them, and delivered lectures to large classes of pupils, to whom they would issue their own *ijāzas*.

In the fourth century, we find Fāṭima bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.312/924), known as al-Ṣūfiyya on account of her great piety; Fāṭima (granddaughter of Abū Daūd of *Sunan* fame); Amat al-Waḥīd (d.377/987), the daughter of the distinguished jurist al-Muḥāmili; Umm al-Faṭḥ Amat al-Salām (d.390/999), the daughter of the judge Abū Bakr Aḥmad (d.350/961); Jumu'a bint Aḥmad, and many other women, whose classes were always well-attended by reverential audiences.¹¹

The Islamic tradition of female *ḥadīth* scholarship continued in the fifth and sixth centuries of the *hijra*. Fāṭima bint al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Daqqāq (d.480/1087), who married the famous mystic and traditionist Abu'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, was celebrated not only for her piety and her mastery of calligraphy, but also for her knowledge of *ḥadīth* and the quality of the *isnāds* she knew.¹² Even more distinguished was Karīma al-Marwaziyya (d.463/1070), who was considered the best authority on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in her time. Abū Dharr of Herāt, one of the leading scholars of the period, attached such great importance to her authority that he advised his students to study the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under no one else, because of the quality of her scholarship. She thus figures as a central point in the transmission of this seminal text of Islam.¹³ 'As a matter of fact,' writes Goldziher, 'her name occurs with extraordinary frequency in the *ijāzas* for narrating the text of this book.'¹⁴ Among her students were al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī¹⁵ and al-Ḥumaydī (428/1036–488/1095).¹⁶

Aside from Karīma, a number of other women traditionists 'occupy an eminent place in the history of the transmission of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.'¹⁷ Among these, one might mention in particular Fāṭima bint Muḥammad (d.539/1144); Shuhda 'the Writer' (d.574/1178), and Sitt al-Wuzarā' bint 'Umar (d.716/1316).¹⁸ Fāṭima narrated the book on the authority of the great traditionist Sa'īd al-'Ayyār; and she received from the *ḥadīth* specialists the proud title of *Musnida Iṣfahān* (the great *ḥadīth* authority of Iṣfahān). Shuhda was a famous calligrapher and a traditionist of great repute; the biographers describe her as 'the calligrapher, the great authority on *ḥadīth*, and the pride of womanhood'. Her great-grandfather had been a dealer in needles, and thus acquired the soubriquet 'al-Ibrī'. But her father, Abū Naṣr (d.506/1112) had acquired a passion for *ḥadīth*, and managed to study it with several masters of the subject.¹⁹ In obedience to the *sunna*, he gave his daughter a sound academic education, ensuring that she studied under many traditionists of accepted reputation.

She married 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, an important figure with some literary

interests, who later became a boon companion of the caliph al-Muqtafi, and founded a college and a Sufi lodge, which he endowed most generously. His wife, however, was better-known: she gained her reputation in the field of *ḥadīth* scholarship, and was noted for the quality of her *isnāds*.²⁰ Her lectures on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and other *ḥadīth* collections were attended by large crowds of students; and on account of her great reputation, some people even falsely claimed to have been her disciples.²¹

Also known as an authority on *Bukhārī* was Sitt al-Wuzarā', who, besides her acclaimed mastery of Islamic law, was known as 'the *musnida* of her time', and delivered lectures on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and other works in Damascus and Egypt.²² Classes on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* were likewise given by Umm al-Khayr Amat al-Khāliq (811/1408–911/1505), who is regarded as the last great *ḥadīth* scholar of the *Ḥijāz*.²³ Still another authority on *Bukhārī* was 'Ā'isha bint 'Abd al-Hādī.²⁴

Apart from these women, who seem to have specialised in the great *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Imām al-Bukhārī, there were others, whose expertise was centred on other texts. Umm al-Khayr Fāṭima bint 'Alī (d.532/1137), and Fāṭima al-Shahrazūriyya, delivered lectures on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.²⁵ Fāṭima al-Jawzdāniyya (d.524/1129) narrated to her students the three *Mu'jams* of al-Ṭabarānī.²⁶ Zaynab of Ḥarrān (d.688/1289), whose lectures attracted a large crowd of students, taught them the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the largest known collection of *ḥadīths*.²⁷ Juwayriyya bint 'Umar (d.783/1381), and Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn 'Umar (d.722/1322), who had travelled widely in pursuit of *ḥadīth* and delivered lectures in Egypt as well as Medina, narrated to her students the collections of al-Dārimī and 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd; and we are told that students travelled from far and wide to attend her discourses.²⁸ Zaynab bint Aḥmad (d.740/1339), usually known as Bint al-Kamāl, acquired 'a camel-load' of diplomas; she delivered lectures on the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfa, the *Shamā'il* of al-Tirmidhī, and the *Sharḥ Ma'ānī al-Āthār* of al-Ṭihāwī, the last of which she had read with another woman traditionist, 'Ajība bint Abī Bakr (d.740/1339).²⁹ 'On her authority is based,' says Goldziher, 'the authenticity of the Gotha codex . . . in the same *isnād* a large number of learned women are cited who had occupied themselves with this work.'³⁰ With her, and various other women, the great traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa studied traditions during his stay at Damascus.³¹ The famous historian of Damascus, Ibn 'Asākir, who tells us that he had studied under more than 1,200 men and 80 women, obtained the *ijāza* of Zaynab bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān for the *Muwatta'* of Imām Mālik.³² Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī studied the *Risāla* of Imām al-Shāfi'ī with Hājar bint Muḥammad.³³ 'Afif al-Dīn Junayd, a traditionist of the ninth century AH, read the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī with Fāṭima bint Aḥmad ibn Qāsim.³⁴

Other important traditionists included Zaynab bint al-Sha'irī (524–615/1129–1218). She studied *ḥadīth* under several important traditionists, and in turn lectured to many students—some of who gained great repute—including Ibn Khallikān, author of the well-known biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-A'yān*.³⁵ Another was Karīma the Syrian (d.641/1218), described by the biographers as the greatest authority on *ḥadīth* in Syria of her day. She delivered lectures on many works of *ḥadīth* on the authority of numerous teachers.³⁶

In his work *al-Durar al-Kāmina*,³⁷ Ibn Hajar gives short biographical notices of about 170 prominent women of the eighth century, most of whom are traditionists, and under many of whom the author himself had studied.³⁸ Some of these women were acknowledged as the best traditionists of the period. For instance, Juwayriya bint Aḥmad, to whom we have already referred, studied a range of works on traditions, under scholars both male and female, who taught at the great colleges of the time, and then proceeded to give famous lectures on the Islamic disciplines. 'Some of my own teachers,' says Ibn Hajar, 'and many of my contemporaries, attended her discourses.'³⁹ 'Ā'isha bint 'Abd al-Hādī (723–816), also mentioned above, who for a considerable time was one of Ibn Hajar's teachers, was considered to be the finest traditionist of her time, and many students undertook long journeys in order to sit at her feet and study the truths of religion.⁴⁰ Sitt al-'Arab (d.760/1358) had been the teacher of the well-known traditionist al-'Iraqī (d.742/1341), and of many others who derived a good proportion of their knowledge from her.⁴¹ Daqīqa bint Murshid (d.746/1345), another celebrated woman traditionist, received instruction from a whole range of other women.

Information on women traditionists of the ninth century is given in a work by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (830–897/1427–1429), called *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, which is a biographical dictionary of eminent persons of the ninth century.⁴² A further source is the *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh* of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Umar ibn Fahd (812–871/1409–1466), compiled in 861 AH and devoted to the biographical notices of more than 1,100 of the author's teachers, including over 130 women scholars under whom he had studied.⁴³ Some of these women were acclaimed as among the most precise and scholarly traditionists of their time, and trained many of the great scholars of the following generation. Umm Hānī Maryam (778–871/1376–1466), for instance, learnt the Qur'ān by heart when still a child, acquired all the Islamic sciences then being taught, including theology, law, history, and grammar, and then travelled to pursue *ḥadīth* with the best traditionists of her time in Cairo and Mecca. She was also celebrated for her mastery of

calligraphy, her command of the Arabic language, and her natural aptitude for poetry, as also her strict observance of the duties of religion (she performed the *hajj* no fewer than thirteen times). Her son, who became a noted scholar of the tenth century, showed the greatest veneration for her, and constantly waited on her towards the end of her life. She pursued an intensive programme of lecturing in the great colleges of Cairo, giving *ijāzas* to many scholars. Ibn Fahd himself studied several technical works on *ḥadīth* under her.⁴⁴

Her Syrian contemporary, Bā'ī Khātūn (d.864/1459), having studied traditions with Abū Bakr al-Mizzī and numerous other traditionists, and having secured the *ijāzas* of a large number of masters of *ḥadīth*, both men and women, delivered lectures on the subject in Syria and Cairo. We are told that she took especial delight in teaching.⁴⁵ 'Ā'isha bint Ibrāhīm (760/1358–842/1438), known in academic circles as Ibnat al-Sharā'ihī, also studied traditions in Damascus and Cairo (and elsewhere), and delivered lectures which the eminent scholars of the day spared no efforts to attend.⁴⁶ Umm al-Khayr Sa'īda of Mecca (d.850/1446) received instruction in *ḥadīth* from numerous traditionists in different cities, gaining an equally enviable reputation as a scholar.⁴⁷

So far as may be gathered from the sources, the involvement of women in *ḥadīth* scholarship, and in the Islamic disciplines generally, seems to have declined considerably from the tenth century of the *hijra*. Books such as *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* of al-'Aydārūs, the *Khulāṣat al-Akhhbār* of al-Muḥibbī, and the *al-Suḥub al-Wābila* of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (which are biographical dictionaries of eminent persons of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries of the *hijra* respectively) contain the names of barely a dozen eminent women traditionists. But it would be wrong to conclude from this that after the tenth century, women lost interest in the subject. Some women traditionists, who gained good reputations in the ninth century, lived well into the tenth, and continued their services to the *sunna*. Asmā' bint Kamāl al-Dīn (d.904/1498) wielded great influence with the sultans and their officials, to whom she often made recommendations—which, we are told, they always accepted. She lectured on *ḥadīth*, and trained women in various Islamic sciences.⁴⁸ 'Ā'isha bint Muḥammad (d.906/1500), who married the famous judge Muṣliḥ al-Dīn, taught traditions to many students, and was appointed professor at the Ṣāliḥiyya College in Damascus.⁴⁹ Fāṭima bint Yūsuf of Aleppo (870/1465–925/1519), was known as one of the excellent scholars of her time.⁵⁰ Umm al-Khayr granted an *ijāza* to a pilgrim at Mecca in the year 938/1531.⁵¹

The last woman traditionist of the first rank who is known to us was

Fāṭima al-Fuḍayliya, also known as al-Shaykha al-Fuḍayliya. She was born before the end of the twelfth Islamic century, and soon excelled in the art of calligraphy and the various Islamic sciences. She had a special interest in *ḥadīth*, read a good deal on the subject, received the diplomas of a good many scholars, and acquired a reputation as an important traditionist in her own right. Towards the end of her life, she settled at Mecca, where she founded a rich public library. In the Holy City she was attended by many eminent traditionists, who attended her lectures and received certificates from her. Among them, one could mention in particular Shaykh ʿUmar al-Ḥanafī and Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. She died in 1247/1831.⁵²

Throughout the history of feminine scholarship in Islam it is clear that the women involved did not confine their study to a personal interest in traditions, or to the private coaching of a few individuals, but took their seats as students as well as teachers in public educational institutions, side by side with their brothers in faith. The colophons of many manuscripts show them both as students attending large general classes, and also as teachers, delivering regular courses of lectures. For instance, the certificate on folios 238–40 of the *al-Mashikhat maʿ al-Takhrīj* of Ibn al-Bukhārī, shows that numerous women attended a regular course of eleven lectures which was delivered before a class consisting of more than five hundred students in the ʿUmar Mosque at Damascus in the year 687/1288. Another certificate, on folio 40 of the same manuscript, shows that many female students, whose names are specified, attended another course of six lectures on the book, which was delivered by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī to a class of more than two hundred students at Aleppo in the year 736/1336. And on folio 250, we discover that a famous woman traditionist, Umm ʿAbd Allāh, delivered a course of five lectures on the book to a mixed class of more than fifty students, at Damascus in the year 837/1433.⁵³

Various notes on the manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Kifāya* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, and of a collection of various treatises on *ḥadīth*, show Niʿma bint ʿAlī, Umm Aḥmad Zaynab bint al-Makkī, and other women traditionists delivering lectures on these two books, sometimes independently, and sometimes jointly with male traditionists, in major colleges such as the ʿAzīziyya Madrasa, and the Ḍiyāʿiyya Madrasa, to regular classes of students. Some of these lectures were attended by Aḥmad, son of the famous general Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.⁵⁴

APPENDIX II

THE ḤADĪTHS AND ORIENTALISM

WESTERN scholars have taken an interest in the *ḥadīth* material for almost two centuries, making a welcome contribution by editing and sometimes translating many of the original Arabic works, and by the diligent preparation of concordances and indices.¹ But while some have accepted the traditional canons of *ḥadīth* criticism as developed by the Muslim scholars themselves, others have offered alternative accounts of the subject.² Orientalists of this school have raised some fundamental issues with regard to the literature, and attempted to address them according to modern Western canons of literary and historical criticism.

The first scholar to make this attempt was Aloys Sprenger (according to his own claim), who summarised the results of his research into *ḥadīth* in the introduction to his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad* (1869CE). Another nineteenth-century scholar, William Muir, also touched on the subject in his rather hostile and now outclassed biography of the Prophet.

IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER

But such attempts were far surpassed in their treatment and criticism by Ignaz Goldziher, an Orientalist who was secretary at the Hebrew Congregation in the Hungarian city of Pecs. Goldziher, a brilliant but often choleric man, who studied under the Ottomanist scholar and convert to Islam Arminius Vambéry (1832–1913), spent the year of 1873 travelling in the Middle East, where, sitting with the polite and literate Muslim élite, he seems to have experienced something of a love affair with the Muslim faith. Thanks to 'this year full of honours, full of lustre, full of light',³ as he later wrote in his diary,

I truly entered into the spirit of Islam to such an extent that

ultimately I became inwardly convinced that I myself was a Muslim, and judiciously discovered that this was the only religion which, even in its doctrinal and official formulation, can satisfy philosophical minds. My ideal was to elevate Judaism to a similar rational level.⁴

Goldziher had seen enough of Islam to be convinced of its truth. Yet so total was his conceit, so absolute his academic obsession, that he refused to follow his teacher Vambéry into an honest and open declaration of faith; opting instead for this private agenda of reforming the religion which he had inherited. It is perhaps a symptom of the inner pain he experienced from living this kind of reverse hypocrisy, whereby he privately acknowledged the superiority of Islam and yet remained in public a busy synagogue official, that he should have embarked on a policy of attempted demolition of the literary sources of Islam, by borrowing those techniques of academic 'higher criticism' which had already undermined belief in the textual integrity of the Hebrew scriptures. His thesis, that the *hadiths* are to a large degree the fraudulent propaganda of rival legal theorists of the early second century, was in many ways a characteristic product of his troubled and instinctively polemical mind.⁵

But despite the attractiveness of this thesis, which, to nineteenth century Europeans, seemed to offer a way of pulling the carpet from beneath Islam,⁶ it soon became evident that his theories were at best conjectural, and were lacking in systematic textual evidence. No serious attempt was made to adduce the missing body of proof until the time of Joseph Schacht, half a century later.

Goldziher's main claims, as expounded in the second volume of his *Muslim Studies*, may be summarised as follows:

1. The *hadith* literature is largely based on mere oral transmission, which lasted for more than a century; and the extant *hadith* collections do not refer to any records of *hadiths* which may have been made at an earlier period.
2. The number of *hadiths* in the later collections is far larger than the number of those contained in the earlier anthologies or the early works on Islamic law. This, it is said, shows that many of the *hadiths* are of questionable authenticity.
3. The *hadiths* reported by the younger Companions are far more numerous than those related by the older Companions.
4. The *isnād* system was applied, arbitrarily, to *hadith* not earlier than the close of the first Islamic century, and does not furnish a proof of the genuineness of the tradition to which it is attached.

5. Many of the *ḥadīths* contradict each other.
6. Definite evidence exists of the large-scale forgery of the *isnād* as well as of the texts of *ḥadīths*.
7. The Muslim critics confined their criticism of the literature to the *isnād* alone, and never criticised the texts transmitted.

Many of these controversies have been discussed in detail in Chapters 1, 6 and 7 of this book. Here, however, it may be useful to provide a summary point-by-point response:

1. Goldziher has himself recognised that more than a dozen *ṣaḥīḥas* containing Prophetic *ḥadīths* were compiled by the Companions and their Successors. As for the lack of reference to them in the later *ḥadīth* collections, Sprenger has explained that this is due to the fact that the early traditionists referred to the authors of the books from whom they received them through their own teachers, instead of referring to the books themselves, which were liable to suffer interpolation and forgery.⁷ He has demonstrated this with reference to the practice followed by Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd, and has also collected a good deal of material on the writing down of *ḥadīths*, and the existence of Arabic books during the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods.⁸ The more recent publication of one such early document, the *ṣaḥīḥa* of Hammām ibn Munabbih by Dr. Hamidullah, and the identification of its contents with those of part of the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, with very slight variations, strongly supports the theory of Sprenger. Similarly, Abbott, basing herself on early papyrus documents unknown to Goldziher, surveys the very considerable evidence for extensive written records in the first century, and concludes that 'oral and written transmission went hand in hand almost from the start.'⁹

2. The increase in the number of *ḥadīths* included in the later collections (i.e. of the third century CE) is easily fathomed by anyone conversant with the history of the collection of *ḥadīth*. The early compilers did not know as many traditions as were known to their successors. For, simultaneously with the expansion of the Islamic empire, the custodians of the *ḥadīths* travelled widely and settled throughout the new dominions, narrating the *ḥadīths* known to them to create a provincial corpus. It was only after students of *ḥadīth* had travelled through all these countries and collected together the traditions known to the specialists living there, and narrated them to their own disciples, that larger and more complete collections of *ḥadīths* could be compiled.¹⁰

3. Some European scholars have envisaged a natural course of events in which those who associated with the Prophet for a long period would have reported more traditions about him than those who only knew him for a short while. This, however, was not the case. The younger generations of Companions reported a far larger number of traditions than their older brethren. From this, certain Orientalists have concluded, many *isnāds* of the younger Companions were forged. This question, however, has already been raised by the classical *ḥadīth* scholars themselves, who point out that since the older Companions passed away not long after the death of the Prophet, they had less time to pass on all the traditions known to them, whereas the younger Companions, such as ʿĀʾisha, Ibn ʿAbbās and Abū Hurayra, lived for a far longer period, and were able to disseminate the *ḥadīths* known to them much more extensively. J. Fück has pointed out that this in fact supports the veracity of the traditionists; for if all the *isnāds* had been forged by them, they would have tried to produce *isnāds* from the older Companions in larger numbers.¹¹

4. As the *isnād*, its origin, development and importance, have been discussed in chapter 5 of this book, and Robson and Abbott have thoroughly dealt with the pertinent views of Muslim and non-Muslim scholars,¹² readers are referred to the observations contained in those sources.

5. There is no doubt that a large number of *ḥadīths* contradict one another. But to conclude from this that most are therefore forged is not a logical inference. For it is a natural thing for the leader of a fast-developing movement to change the instructions he issues to his followers, in order to respond to a changing situation. Hence we find that the Prophet at times issued advice or instructions which superceded those which he had given earlier. An instance of this is furnished by the presence of contradictory *ḥadīths* concerning the admissibility of recording *ḥadīths* in writing: the earlier *ḥadīths* prohibit it, while later *ḥadīths* regard it as permissible. In some cases of evident contradiction, the clashes can be resolved by pointing out the different circumstances under which the contradictory instructions were given. In various other cases, contradictions have been explained by isolating ideas common to them which were expressed in various ways at different times. This is not to say, of course, that no *ḥadīths* were forged, and that forged *ḥadīths* did not conflict with sound ones; in fact, the Muslim scholars have already recognised and analysed this point.¹³ But one cannot

but be surprised to find that some European scholars have cited *ḥadīths* as evidence of contradictions in the literature, when Muslim scholars have for a thousand years dismissed those very *ḥadīths* as spurious, or as cases of abrogation.

6. The large-scale forgery of *isnāds* as well as the texts of traditions is a historical fact accepted by all the Muslim scholars, and has been described at length in chapter 3 of this book. The development of an extensive and sophisticated literature on the *mauḍūʿāt* (forged narrations discarded by the traditionists) is sure and sufficient proof of this. Here again, one is surprised to find some European scholars citing these *ḥadīths* not only to illustrate the vagaries of the sectarian mind in various periods—a wholly legitimate deduction—but also to prove that the literature as a whole is of questionable reliability.

On other occasions, they have cited *ḥadīths* traditionally considered authentic as forged. For instance:

6a. Goldziher¹⁴ and (following him) Guillaume¹⁵ cite the following *ḥadīth* from Tirmidhī:

Ibn ʿUmar related that Muḥammad ordered all dogs to be killed save sheep-dogs and hounds. Abū Hurayra added the words *au zarʿin* (or field dogs). Whereupon Ibn ʿUmar makes the remark that Abū Hurayra owned cultivated land. A better illustration of the underlying motive of some *ḥadīth* can hardly be found.¹⁶

Having produced this *ḥadīth*, Goldziher says that the remark of Ibn ʿUmar proves that even the earliest transmitters were not free from selfish and dishonest motives. The Muslim traditionists, however, have explained Ibn ʿUmar's remark as meaning that Abū Hurayra, being possessed of personal experience of the subject-matter of this *ḥadīth*, was in a better position to know exactly what its wording was.¹⁷

6b. Goldziher¹⁸ and (following him) Guillaume¹⁹ assert that the *ḥadīth* reported by Bukhārī: 'Make journey (for pilgrimage) only to three (mosques)—the Inviolable Mosque, the Mosque of the Prophet, and the Mosque of Jerusalem', was forged by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri in order to help ʿAbd al-Malik against his rival ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. J. Fück, however, points out that this assertion is chronologically unsound. Ibn al-Zubayr was killed in 73AH, while al-Zuhri was born in 51, or even later. He therefore would have been too young at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr's death to have

become a widely-accepted authority on tradition; had the caliph really wished to find a *ḥadīth* propagandist, he would probably have chosen someone more venerable and established. Goldziher's theory is further weakened by the fact that al-Zuhri's authority for this *ḥadīth* (the famous Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib, who died in 94AH) was still alive, which would have made it hard to misuse his name: a propagandist would have chosen someone safely defunct. Again, al-Zuhri is not the only traditionist who reported this *ḥadīth* from Sa'īd.²⁰

6c. One further example should suffice to demonstrate the purely speculative nature of many of Goldziher's assertions. He states that once the fabrication of *ḥadīth* had become a common and established practice among the traditionists, they attempted to stop it by forging a *ḥadīth* which prohibited the practice. The well-known *ḥadīth* (in which the Prophet is reported to have said that whoever falsely attributed anything to him would be preparing an abode in Hell), together with a set of similar traditions, was, according to Goldziher, fabricated in order to stop the fabrication process.²¹ The *ḥadīth*, however, is *mutawātir*, having been reported by more than seventy Companions and numerous independent chains of authorities. It is found in different forms in all the important *ḥadīth* collections, and has been accepted by all the traditionists as one of the most reliable and extensively-attested of all traditions. It is hard to conceive how it could have been concocted verbatim and at the same time by a large number of scholars distributed over several provinces.

Fabrications were made in the name of the prophets who came before Muḥammad, of which he was aware, and to which reference is made in the Qur'ān; similarly, forged traditions were attributed to Muḥammad himself during his lifetime. Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the great leader should have warned his followers against this practice. Goldziher was surely well-acquainted with these facts; yet he persisted in asserting that these *ḥadīths* were forged—without offering any proof. And Guillaume has followed him almost verbatim.²²

7. It is true that all the *muṣannaf* collections of *ḥadīth* are arranged into books and chapters according to subject-matter, and contain a short description of the *isnād* in technical language, without much analysis being presented of the character of the text. Yet in the very extensive exegetic literature, the commentators do of course subject the texts to a close critique, following the principles which we have given in the last chapter of our book. It appears, however, that the function of the collection and formal *isnād*

criticism of the *ḥadīths* was reserved for the collectors, while the function of their material criticism was left for the jurists and the commentators on the various anthologies.

According to the Muslim critics, the *isnād* provides good evidence, but not an absolute guarantee of the soundness of a *ḥadīth* text. If such a text is contrary to reason and common experience, or to the explicit text of the Qur'ān, or to the text of a *mutawātir* tradition, or the *ijmā'*, it is considered to have been forged. Goldziher appears to be unaware of the extensive literature on *matn* criticism.²³

For more on Goldziher's understanding of *ḥadīth*, reference should be made to the studies of al-Sibā'ī²⁴ and al-Khaṭīb;²⁵ the more recent criticisms directed at Schacht are also relevant.

ALFRED GUILLAUME

The Traditions of Islam, published in 1924 by Alfred Guillaume, formerly professor of Arabic at London University, gained some currency for a while as the only English-language critique of traditional Muslim *ḥadīth* scholarship. It represents, however, little more than a reiteration of Goldziher's work; indeed, accusations of plagiarism dogged the latter years of this author's career.

JOSEPH SCHACHT

Our comments on Goldziher serve also to interpret much of the later work of Joseph Schacht. Schacht's conviction, in some ways even more radical than his predecessor's, was that for the Prophet, 'law as such fell outside the sphere of religion', and that 'the technical aspects of law were a matter of indifference to the [early] Muslims'.²⁶ The *ḥadīth* literature which elaborates it, then, despite the efforts of the Muslim scholars to ensure its authenticity, can be dismissed as a monumental fraud.

Partly because of Schacht's habit of making 'all too readily formulated and at the same time sweeping theories',²⁷ many subsequent Western scholars have expressed grave doubts about his work. Quite apart from the fact that its 'supercilious' approach 'makes heavy reading, and its style seems to rub many readers, Western and Muslim, up the wrong way,' its central thesis, that the Prophet, despite the Qur'ān's concern with law, and the example of the Hebraic prophetic tradition in which the Qur'ān places him, was not interested in legislation, has seemed improbable. Fifteen years after Schacht's

Origins was published, Samuel Goitein was writing that for the Prophet, 'even strictly legal matters were not irrelevant to religion, but were part and parcel of the divine revelation,'²⁸ and that 'the idea of the *Shari'a* was not the result of post-Quranic developments, but was formulated by Muḥammad himself.'²⁹ Similar objections to Schacht's opinions are aired by N. J. Coulson, who finds them 'too rigid', and 'not wholly convincing';³⁰ while J. Robson³¹ and N. Abbott³² are even more critical. However, the most rigorous articulation of this scepticism comes from M. M. Azami, whose *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, and, more recently, *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, can be considered the definitive rebuttal of Schacht's thesis. Readers interested in pursuing the debate further are referred to these texts.

NABIA ABBOTT

This American scholar has given us what is in many ways the most well-written and coherent account of the literature. It has the advantage of being rooted in a series of very early texts whose authenticity is beyond question, taking the form of collections of Arabic papyrus documents, some little more than fragments, acquired by Chicago's Oriental Institute between 1929 and 1947. Abbott set herself the laborious task of identifying, transcribing and translating these; a work which bore fruit first in a brief preliminary article,³³ and then in her monumental *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*. Volume I of this, published in 1957, dealt with historical texts; Volume II (1967) concerned Qur'ānic commentary and Tradition; while Volume III (1972) included documents on language and literature. Academic recognition for this achievement culminated in an invitation to contribute the key article on *ḥadīth* for the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*.³⁴

In Volume II of her *Studies*, Abbott presents thirteen very early *ḥadīth* papyri, and discovers that when set beside the matter included in the canonical collections, they 'contain very little, beyond some rather minor textual variants, that was not already available to us in the rich heritage of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* literature'.³⁵ A study of the *isnāds*, moreover, reveals a distinction between the often poor *isnāds* attached to material concerning Companions and Successors, which was, according to orthodoxy, of less legal and doctrinal significance, and the good *isnāds* used for the Prophetic *ḥadīth*. This confirms the verdict that 'the special attention to and extra care with Muhammad's *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* were stressed from the very beginning of the caliphate.'³⁶

Although she rarely mentions Schacht or Goldziher, Abbott is clearly targeting their theories when she emphasizes the importance attached to religious law from the earliest days of Islam: the Companions were enthusiastic emulators of the Prophet's example,³⁷ while even relatively profane Umayyad rulers like 'Abd al-Malik, who, according to Schacht, had set little or no store by the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, actually took the trouble to memorise a number of *ḥadīth*.³⁸ She similarly adduces detailed evidence for the view, held by Sprenger and Robson as well as the Muslim authorities, that the importance attached to the prophetic *ḥadīth* was so great that 'Umar II appointed a commission to record it, and ensure its authenticity.³⁹ As we have seen on p.24 above, Abbott also presents reasons to believe that the early written records of *ḥadīth* were very substantial. And again, she is clearly targeting Goldziher when she concludes that

Oral and written transmission went hand in hand almost from the start; the traditions of Muhammad as transmitted by his Companions and their Successors were, as a rule, scrupulously scrutinized at each step of the transmission, and that the so-called phenomenal growth of Tradition in the second and third centuries of Islam was not primarily growth of content, so far as the *ḥadīth* of Muhammad and the *ḥadīth* of the Companions are concerned, but represents largely the progressive increase of parallel and multiple chains of transmission.⁴⁰

JAMES ROBSON

This Scottish clergyman, who became Professor of Arabic at Manchester University, dedicated the later years of his career to an extensive programme of reading in the *ḥadīth* literature, which culminated most visibly in his translation of al-Tabrīzī's *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, a work which can be considered the most competent English rendition of a large *ḥadīth* collection.⁴¹ Robson also gave us the first and so far the only translation of a classical manual on *ḥadīth* criticism: the *Madkhal* of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī.⁴²

In the introduction to his *Mishkāṭ*, and also in a series of articles,⁴³ Robson voices a growing dissatisfaction with the Schachtian thesis, which by the early 1960's had become a kind of Orientalist orthodoxy. Analysing some of Schacht's more sweeping judgements, he became convinced that the traditional Muslim account of *ḥadīth* genesis had much to commend it, and had in some ways been misrepresented—or at least misunderstood—by Goldziher and Schacht.⁴⁴

G. H. A. JUYNBOLL

This author, in his article 'On the Origins of Arabic Prose',⁴⁵ and especially in his recent monograph *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth*,⁴⁶ expresses regret that Schacht's work has passed almost unnoticed by Muslims, and condescendingly decides that this is perhaps because of its difficult and objectionable language. Juynboll, who announces quite explicitly that he is 'writing for Muslims',⁴⁷ articulates his disquiet that the traditional view of *ḥadīth* should still be maintained among Muslims, and his hopes that his book will serve to call this view into question. None the less, while accepting the main thrust of some of Schacht's theories, he adopts a somewhat more moderate position, in holding that 'a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports [...] collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of "what really happened"'.⁴⁸

A noticeable fault in Juynboll's work is his explicit and frequent reliance on his own 'intuition'. At times, readers equipped with the kind of Muslim background which Juynboll lacks find this damagingly misguided. An example of this is his dismissal of Abbott's proof of the rapid growth of *ḥadīths*, a proof which cites reports of—in Juynboll's description—'mass meetings during which certain famous *muḥaddithūn* were alleged to have transmitted traditions to crowds totalling 10,000!'. He goes on to remark, 'Visualising sessions such as this with many dozens of *mustamlis* moving about, shouting the traditions down to the last rows of eager *ḥadīth* students may lift the reader into the realm of 1,001-night fantasies, but in whatever way you look at it, it is difficult to take accounts like that seriously'.⁴⁹ The exotic stereotyping here merely serves to confirm the Muslim reader's suspicion of an impairing cultural distance. *Ḥadīth* classes involving comparable numbers of students are regular events even today in the Muslim world. In 1405/1984, the Meccan *muḥaddith* Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (d. 1411/1991) visited Indonesia, where he gave open-air classes to crowds well outnumbering the ten thousand which arouses Juynboll's incredulity.⁵⁰ It is only in the West that Islamic studies are a small, almost imperceptible activity.

Students of the book likewise complain of apparent contradictions. For instance, Juynboll tells us that before the time of 'Umar II, 'the Umayyad rulers may have only been vaguely interested in the political possibilities present in the *faḍā'il/mathālib* genres.'⁵¹ Only a few pages on, however, the reader discovers that 'it is most probable that another important genre of *ḥadīths* originated in those early days immediately following the prophet's

demise: the *faḍā'il* genre,⁵² and is presented with an early text to support this: 'Mu'āwiya wrote one and the same letter to his tax collectors after the year of the Jamā'a in which he said: 'Let the conquered people refrain from mentioning any merit of Abū Turāb [Alī] or his kinsmen [. . .] Make a search for those you can find who were partisans of 'Uthmān and those who supported his rule and those who uphold his merits and qualities. Seek their company, gain access to them and honour them. Write down for me everything which everyone of them relates [. . .]'. In exchange, Mu'āwiya sent them presents.'⁵³ The resultant picture of Umayyad policy towards *ḥadīth*, which is pivotal to any discussion on the subject, is thus acutely confused.

Another area of the debate, that of the reliability of the *asmā' al-rijāl* literature, is explored in a separate chapter of Juynboll's work.⁵⁴ Here, too, the Muslim student of *ḥadīth* confesses to a certain puzzlement. Juynboll focusses on Ibn Ḥajar's biographical dictionary, the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, and offers some general and dismissive comments about it, but without exploring or even showing an awareness of Ibn Ḥajar's sources. As the title of his book indicates, the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*—'that splendid work', as Arberry describes it⁵⁵—represents one of several condensed versions of the *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl* of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī (d.742/1341), a well-known biographical dictionary which is now in the process of publication.⁵⁶ Unaware of the work's origin and hence its nature, Juynboll merely remarks that 'Ibn Ḥajar must have had sources from which he worked,'⁵⁷ thereby leaving the reader with the impression that Ibn Ḥajar's material comes from unknown and hence dubious sources.

Finally, acceptance of the book has been handicapped by his uneven prose style, which at times renders the meaning difficult to unravel. Many undergraduates have wrestled unsuccessfully with solecisms such as: 'Now, it must be conceded, first of all that, in my opinion, the common-link theory is a brilliant one.'⁵⁸ Similar offenses against the rules of grammar, style and logic are scattered thickly throughout the book.

One final remark. The above notes on the most outspoken Western commentators on the *ḥadīth* literature can also, and rewardingly, be read as a commentary on evolving Western instincts towards Islam in general. We do not need Foucault to remind us that academic discourse is a product of power relationships: Goldziher's diary gives us very adequate proof that scholarly theories, especially those which involve the assessment of one culture by a historic rival, can easily be deconstructed into their psychological,

historical and political constituents. The point is often noted, too, that American scholars, whose government has had no direct colonial involvement in Muslim countries, have in the past been somewhat more sympathetic to Islamic culture and its scholarship than their European colleagues⁵⁹ (the cases of Abbott and Powers are suggestive in this regard), and it will be interesting to see whether this transatlantic disparity endures. But it is, in any case, not unreasonable to hope that traditional *engagé* scholarship, newly self-conscious following the efforts of Edward Said and others to lay bare its inner metabolism, will, and despite the West's continuing fear of the Islamic world-community, slowly wither away.

APPENDIX III

THE LEIDEN EDITION

OF IBN SA'D

IBN HAYAWAYH'S recension of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd was the object of intense study by a host of students of the *asmā'* for more than three centuries, as is demonstrated by the *ijāza* and *isnād* annotations found in the various manuscripts which have come down to us. But from the end of the eighth century AH, on account of its great bulk and the appearance of many handier books on the various branches of *asmā'*, interest in it began to decline, and copies became increasingly scarce. No complete manuscript of the book is now known to exist.¹

Among Western orientalisists, Sprenger and Wüstenfeld were the first to realise the great importance of Ibn Sa'd's work. They published articles describing its manuscripts, and drawing the orientalisists' attention to its value as a source for early Islamic history, also using it as an important source for their own work. Other Orientalists such as Muir and Nöldeke also made extensive use of it. But a thorough and minute study of Ibn Sa'd had to wait for another German scholar, Otto Loth, who in 1869CE published his treatise *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd*,² together with an article on the origin and meaning of *Ṭabaqāt*³, describing the Gotha and Berlin manuscripts of the book, the nature of their contents, the origins and history of the *ṭabaqāt* type of biographical dictionaries, and the place of Ibn Sa'd's work among them. It was Loth who paved the way for the edition of the book.

Its great size, however, stood in the way of its publication. For eighteen years after the publication of Loth's works, no-one appears to have considered seriously the possibility of preparing a critical edition. It was only in June 1887 that the Prussian Academy of Sciences resolved to publish the book, placing E. Sachau in charge of the undertaking. Within a year, Sachau had discovered five more manuscripts of the book which had escaped Loth's attention. All were collected together with the help of scholars, librarians,

and government officials, and in 1898 their collation and editing were begun. In 1904 the eighth and third volumes were published; the others followed, and the text was completed in 1918 with the publication of Volume VII. Three indices followed.⁴

This edition was reprinted in Beirut in 1376-77/1957-58.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

- 1 al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo, 1309), 120.
- 2 al-Dārimī, *al-Sunan* (Kanpur, 1292-3), 46.
- 3 al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz* (Hyderabad, 1330), I, 6-7.
- 4 al-Qaṣṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyya*, with commentary of al-Zurqānī (Cairo, 1291), V, 454.
- 5 *al-Mufaḍḍalīyyāt*, ed. Lyall, C. J., (Oxford, 1918-21CE), LXVI.5; CXXIII.16. Cf. Kamali, M. H. *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Cambridge, 1991CE), 44-5; Azami, M. M. *On Schacht's Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* (Riyadh, New York and Chichester, 1985CE), 29-30.
- 6 Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 30.
- 7 al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad, *Al-Sunna qabl al-Tadwīn* (Cairo, 1383), 14-22; Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 29-54. Azami (*op. cit.*, 23), quotes a statement of the second Caliph, 'Umar, to demonstrate that although the term *sunna* was not restricted to the Prophet in early Islam, his *sunna* had priority: 'Whose *sunna* deserves more to be observed by you, the *sunna* of the Prophet or the *sunna* of 'Umar?' For an extensive summary of the concept of *Sunna*, see Kamali, *Principles*, 44-85.
- 8 Goldziher, I. *Muslim Studies*, tr. S. Stern (London, 1967CE), II, 24-5; Kamali, *Principles*, 47.
- 9 Biographies of the Prophet include: Lings, M., *Muḥammad: His Life based on the Earliest Sources* (Cambridge, 1991CE); Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953CE), and *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956CE).
- 10 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. Sachau, E., *et. al.* (Leiden, 1322-59/1904-40), I/i, 145.
- 11 *Ibid.*, I/i, 136.
- 12 *Ibid.*, I/i, 136.
- 13 Very numerous examples of this are given in Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 29-74; Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 10-18.
- 14 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Fīṣām, bāb al-iqīdā' bi-af'āl al-Nabī (IV, 166).
- 15 *Ibid.*, Tahajjud, bāb ṣalāt al-layl (I, 136).
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *Ibid.*, Fīṣām, bāb al-ta'ammuq (IV, 166).
- 18 Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Delhi, 1309), Birr, bāb tafsīr al-birr (II, 314).
- 19 Abū Daūd, *al-Sunan*, ed. 'Abd al-Aḥad (Delhi, 1346), Istighfār (I, 119).
- 20 *Ibid.*, Takhfīf al-ukhrayayn (I, 124).
- 21 For the various definitions and classes of *tābī'ūn* see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 124-26.
- 22 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 155, 176-84; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Riḥla fī Ṭalab al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Iṭr (Damascus, 1395); cf. above, 40-2.
- 23 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 62.
- 24 Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 234.
- 25 *Ibid.*, VIII, 73.
- 26 *Ibid.*, IV/ii, 56.
- 27 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 45.
- 28 Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 125.
- 29 *Ibid.*, IV/ii, 80.
- 30 Bukhārī, 'Ilm, bāb al-tanāwub (I, 19).
- 31 ZDMG, X, 2.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 al-Tabrizī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (Lucknow, 1326), 'Ilm (32).
- 34 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 35 Hammām ibn Munabbih, *Ṣaḥīfa*, ed. Hamidullah, M. (Paris, 1380), 9.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 107. Cf. Kamali, *Principles*, 45.
- 38 Von Kremer, *The Orient under the Caliphs* (Calcutta, 1920CE), 260.
- 39 For the dissemination of *ḥadīth*, see Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 109-11.
- 40 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 164-76.
- 41 A Companion known as al-Munaydhir is said to have visited Spain. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb* (Cairo, 1302), I, 130.
- 42 See M. Ishaque, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature* (Dacca, 1955CE), chap. 1.
- 43 For the letters of the Prophet, see Serjeant,

R.B., in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, I (Cambridge, 1983CE), 139–42; for his treatises, see *ibid.*, 134–39.

44 'Abd al-Khāliq, *al-Imām al-Bukhārī wa-Ṣaḥīḥuh* (Jedda, 1405), 45–52.

45 Ibn Sa'd, III/i, 206; N. Abbott, 'Hadith Literature—II: Collection and Transmission of Hadith', (in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, I, 289–98), 289; 'Abd al-Khāliq, 90–1; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 99–105; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* Vol. I, Historical Texts (Chicago, 1957CE); Vol. II, Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition (Chicago, 1967CE); Vol. III, Language and Literature (Chicago, 1972CE), I, 7, 10. 'Umar did, none the less, effectively disseminate *ḥadīth* in other ways.

46 See Sezgin, *F. Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I (Leiden, 1967CE), 56–7; Abdul-Rauf, M. 'Hadith Literature—I: The Development of the Science of *Ḥadīth*', (*Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, I, 271–88), 272; Abbott, 'Hadith Literature', 293–94; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 43.

47 Maqqari, *Nafḥ*, I, 130.

48 Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 134; Bukhārī, 'Ilm, bāb al-kitāba. For the involvement of women in *ḥadīth* scholarship see Appendix I.

49 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm wa-Fadlīh* (Cairo, n.d.), I, 76.

50 al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughūth* (Lucknow, n.d.), 239.

51 As cited in Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī* (Cairo, 1320), I, 174.

52 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 82.

53 *Ibid.*, I, 95.

54 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Leipzig, 1871–72 CE), 225–27.

55 Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 136.

56 *Fihrist*, 225–27.

57 For the *Muwattaʿ* see above, 7.

58 *Fihrist*, 225.

59 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 197–204. The *Muwattaʿ* has recently been translated into English by the American Muslim scholar Aisha Bewley: *Al-Muwattaʿ of Imām Mālik ibn Anas: the first formulation of Islamic law* (London, 1989CE). For the background to the *Muwattaʿ*, see Abdul Rauf, 272–73; Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 79–85.

60 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 202. *Ipmaʿ* is a term denoting the authoritative consensus of scholars.

61 For the primacy of Medina, see Abbott,

Studies, II, 81–2.

62 *Ibid.*, II, 202. For these terms see above, 109.

63 Dihlawī, *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn* (Delhi, 1898CE), 25.

64 Namely, Yahyā al-Tamīmī, Abū Ḥudhayfa and Suwayd ibn Sa'd.

65 Zurqānī, *Sharḥ Muwattaʿ* Mālik (Cairo, 1310), I, 8.

66 Ibn Sa'd, III/i, 164.

67 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Jihād, bāb man ḥaddatha bi-mashāhidihī (II, 97).

68 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, II, 27.

69 Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn* (Leipzig, 1835–42CE), I, 174–75.

70 *Ibid.*, IV, 254ff.

71 *Ibid.*, II, 68.

72 *Ibid.*, VI, 167. This number is based on my own calculation.

73 Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 271–72.

74 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 22–4.

75 *Ṣaḥīfa Hammām ibn Munabbih*; see Bibliography.

76 Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, 262; Sezgin, I, 84; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 23.

77 Abbott, *Studies*, II, 58.

78 *Ibid.*, I, 22; cf. also II, 58–9.

79 Dihlawī, *Risāla dar Fann-i Uṣūl-i Ḥadīth* (Delhi, 1255), 22.

80 *Ibid.*, 19–20, 22–3.

81 Abdul Rauf, 272–73.

82 For the debate over the definition of the term see al-Jazā'irī, *Tawjīh al-Nazar ilā Uṣūl al-Athar* (Cairo, 1328), 66.

83 For a list of *Musnad* works see Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, V, 532–43.

84 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 210.

85 Dihlawī, *Risāla*, 21.

86 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 37.

87 Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, V, 534.

88 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 212.

89 al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā* (Cairo, 1324), I, 202.

90 Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, V, 534.

91 Similar texts arranged in chronological order are termed *mashāhika*. See *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Patna, 1925), V/ii, 41n.

92 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 56, 95.

93 Ṭabarānī's *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr* has been edited by Ḥamdī al-Salāfi (2nd. ed., Baghdad, 1984–90CE).

94 For the structure and function of this important work, see Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Uṣūl al-Takhrīj wa-Dirāsāt al-Asānīd* (Cairo, n.d.), 214–15; Abdul Rauf, 279.

95 Several English translations exist of this, for instance Izzedine Ibrahim and Denys (Abdul Wadud) Johnson-Davies, *An-Nawawī's Forty Hadith: an anthology of the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad*, 14th ed. (Beirut, 1409).

The whole genre is discussed in al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *al-Ilmā' fī Ma'rīfat Uṣūl al-Riwāya wa-Taqrīd al-Samā'*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1398), 22; Abdülkader Karahan, 'Aperçu général sur les "Quarante ḥadīths" dans la littérature islamique', *SI*, IV (1955CE), 39–55; L. Pouzet, *Une Herméneutique de la tradition islamique* (Beirut, 1982CE).

96 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 214–16.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- 1 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 387–94.
- 2 For the role of the Companions in ḥadīth transmission see Azami, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature* (Beirut, 1968CE), 35–59; and the material collected in Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 57–65.
- 3 al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa'l-Lughāt* (Göttingen, 1842–7CE), 18; Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 367–73; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima* (Cairo, 1326), 118–19.
- 4 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 121.
- 5 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Isāba fī Tamayyuz al-Ṣaḥāba* (Calcutta, 1856–58CE), I, 3.
- 6 Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, V, 534.
- 7 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talqīḥ Fuhūm Ahl al-Āthār* (Delhi, n.d.), 184–97.
- 8 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī Ma'rīfat al-Aṣḥāb* (Hyderabad, 1318), I, no. 1109.
- 9 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1326), IV, no. 573.
- 10 Ibid., No. 425.
- 11 Ibid., XII, no. 1124.
- 12 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II.
- 13 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, V, no. 653.
- 14 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, no. 2806.
- 15 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VII, no. 40.
- 16 Ibid., III, no. 254.
- 17 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, no. 1095.
- 18 Ibid., II, no. 1896.
- 19 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, III, no. 267.
- 20 Ibid., no. 592.
- 21 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, no. 2850.
- 22 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, II, no. 775.
- 23 Ibid., IV, no. 428.
- 24 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, no. 1081.
- 25 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VI, no. 74.
- 26 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, no. 1081.
- 27 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VI, no. 74.
- 28 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, no. 2844.
- 29 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VIII, no. 788.
- 30 Ibid., II, no. 115.
- 31 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, no. 2434.
- 32 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, I, no. 797.
- 33 Ibid., VIII, no. 219.
- 34 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, no. 2799.
- 35 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talqīḥ*, 184–86.
- 36 Zurqānī, *Sharḥ Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*, I, 8.
- 37 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 202.
- 38 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talqīḥ*, 197–205.
- 39 Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 379; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 352.
- 40 Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, 54ff; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 411–68.
- 41 F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien* (Göttingen, 1852–53CE), no. 10.
- 42 Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, 54.
- 43 Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 110.
- 44 Ibn Sa'd, 60; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 415.
- 45 Ibid., 56.
- 46 Ibid., 58.
- 47 *Ṣaḥīfa Hammām ibn Munabbih*, 38–9.
- 48 *Ṣaḥīfa Hammām ibn Munabbih*, 36–40.
- 49 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 446–54.
- 50 Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, 105–137; Azami, *Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 45–6.
- 51 Ibid., IV/i, 106–25.
- 52 Ibid., IV/i, 124.
- 53 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 166; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 472–74; Abbott, 'Ḥadīth Literature', 290; Azami, *Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 49.
- 54 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 38.
- 55 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 38.
- 56 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 167.
- 57 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 24.
- 58 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 474–76.

- 59 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 24.
- 60 See for instance above, 19.
- 61 Bukhārī, Maghāzī, Badr (III, 5). Numerous other instances of 'Ā'isha's careful criticism of *ḥadīth* have been collected by the Indian scholar Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī in his book *Sīrat-i 'Ā'isha* (Lucknow, 1330).
- 62 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, XII, no. 2841.
- 63 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba fī Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (Cairo, 1280), III, 193.
- 64 Ibid., III, 195; Khatīb, *Sunna*, 476-78; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 351-54.
- 65 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, V, no. 474.
- 66 Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 121; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 85-6.
- 67 Abbott, *Studies*, II, 4.
- 68 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 351-54; *El*², I, 41-1 (L. Veccia Vaglieri).
- 69 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 37.
- 70 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 185.
- 71 Sezgin, I, 85; Khatīb, *Sunna*, 478-80; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 184-86.
- 72 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, II, no. 67.
- 73 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 723; Khatīb, *Sunna*, 480-1.
- 74 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 308-16.
- 75 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 233-35.
- 76 Ibid., cf. above, 10.
- 77 Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 379.
- 78 Khatīb, *Sunna*, 92-9.
- 79 Abū Daūd, *Sunan*, Farā'id, bāb al-jadda (II, 45).
- 80 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 3.
- 81 Abū Daūd, *Sunan*, Diyāt al-janīn (II, 280).
- 82 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 58.
- 83 Ṭayālīsī, no. 1364.
- 84 Ibn Sa'd, IV/i, 13-4.
- 85 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 7. For 'Umar's policy see Khatīb, *Sunna*, 99-111.
- 86 Ibn Sa'd, III/i, 39.
- 87 Abū Daūd, *Sunan*, I, 220.
- 88 Ibn Sa'd, III/i, 102.
- 89 Ibid., 210.
- 90 Ibid., 110.
- 91 Ibid., 102.
- 92 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 78-9.
- 93 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 46.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibn Māja, *al-Sunan* (Delhi, 1333), 4.
- 96 Ibn Sa'd, III/i, 161; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 97.
- 97 Information on this extensive controversy may be found in 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 146-61; Khatīb, *Sunna*, 45-114, 295-328; Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 22-7.
- 98 Ibn Sa'd, IV/ii, 9.
- 99 See above, 10.
- 100 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VIII, no. 80; Khatīb, *Sunna*, 348-52.
- 101 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Ilm, bāb kitābat al-'ilm (I, 21); Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 47.
- 102 al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi'* (Delhi, 1315), al-Yamīn ma' al-shāhid, I, 160.
- 103 Khatīb, *Sunna*, 352; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 15.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid.; Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 42-3.
- 106 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 5; Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 34-5.
- 107 Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 123; Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 40-1.
- 108 Tirmidhī, 238.
- 109 Ibn Sa'd, V, 216; Abbott, *Studies*, I, 23.
- 110 Qastallānī, *Mawāhib*.
- 111 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, I, 148.
- 112 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 74.
- 113 *Ṣaḥīfa Hammām ibn Munabbih*; cf. *Sunna*, 355-62.
- 114 Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, II, 91.
- 115 Sprenger, A. 'On the Origin and Progress of Writing Down Historical Facts among the Musalmans' (*JASB* XXV, 303-29, 375-81), 315.
- 116 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Ilm, bāb al-kitāba; Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 40.
- 117 Ibid., 52.
- 118 al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan* (Delhi, n.d.), 204, 209, 485.
- 119 Ibn Sa'd, I/ii, 19.
- 120 Abū Daūd, *Sunan*, Zakāt al-sā'ima (I, 226). For other such documents see above, 6.
- 121 Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 20-7.
- 122 Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad* (Cairo, 1313), II, 403; III, 13; V, 183; Dārimī, *Sunan*, 64ff; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Zuhd, bāb ḥukm kitāba . . . (II, 414); Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 22-3, 39.
- 123 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 63-8; Sprenger, 'On the Origins', 304-17.
- 124 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 64; Sprenger, 'On the Origins', 306.
- 125 Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*. Beirut, n.d.
- 126 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, 471.
- 127 These are: Abū 'Abs, Ubayy ibn Ka'b,

'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa, Aws ibn Khawlī, al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr, Usayd and his father al-Ḥudayr, Sa'd ibn 'Ubadā, and Rāfi' ibn Malik.

128 Ibn Sa'd, *III/ii*, 91.

129 al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1323), XVI, 121. 'The Bedouin,' says Goldziher, 'despises reading and writing even today.' (Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 1.)

130 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, sv. "Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn al-Āṣī".

131 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, 472.

132 Ibn Sa'd, *II/ii*, 14.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 315.

135 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 22.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 Tirmidhi, *Jāmi'*, II, 90; cf. 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 13; Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 109.

2 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 22.

3 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 328.

4 Ibn Sa'd, *III/ii*, 23.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid. V, 213.

7 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 45.

8 Sakḥāwī, *Fath*, 396-97.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibn Sa'd, V, 140.

11 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Göttingen, 1835CE) no. 574.

12 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 97.

13 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* (London, 1923-25CE), I, 17.

14 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 629-30.

15 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 290.

16 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 174.

17 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 355.

18 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, I, 17.

19 Ibid.

20 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 172.

21 Ibid., II, 147.

22 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 98.

23 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Muqaddima Fath al-Bārī* (Delhi, 1302), 566.

24 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 97-8.

25 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī* (Cairo, 1307), 279.

26 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 719.

27 Ibid., 534.

28 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 290.

29 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, IX, 33.

30 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 291.

31 Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz* (Göttingen, 1833CE), IX, 100; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Cairo, 1349), VI, 122. It should be observed here that the vast majority of these students may have been irregular students. Regular students, particularly those entered in a formal

institution, were far fewer. For instance, the number (one thousand) of students who attended the *ḥadīth* college founded by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 393/1003) at Nisābūr is remarkably high for an organised institution. See J. Pedersen/G. Makdisi, 'Madrasa' in *EL* V, 1126.

32 Azami, *Early Hadith Literature*, 188-94; cf. above, 86.

33 Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IX, 100; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, VI, 122.

34 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 532.

35 Kamali, *Principles*, 65-8; Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 2.

36 Muir, W. *Life of Mahomet* (Edinburgh, 1912CE), xxxvi. Cf. Kamali, *Principles*, 65.

37 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* (Cairo, 1345-47), II, 2-3, 83-4.

38 Kamali, *Principles*, 65.

39 See also below, chapter 7.

40 For details on the process of falsification, see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 185-292; Kamali, *Principles*, 65-8.

41 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 206-8; Kamali, *Principles*, 66-7; al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, translated by J. Robson, *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition* (London, 1953CE), 27.

42 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 103.

43 Ibid.

44 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, I, 286.

45 Ḥākim (Robson), *Madkhal*, 27-8. For Shī'ī *ḥadīth* invention, see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 195-203; for the Khawārij, *ibid.*, 204-6.

46 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 52; cf. Ibn Khallikān, no. 764.

47 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, VI, 94.

48 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān* (Hyderabad, 1329-31), V, no. 1136.

49 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 103.

50 Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, no. 1296.

51 Guillaume, *Traditions*, 73.

52 Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, V, 431.

53 Cf. for instance Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rahmān ʿUthmān (Medina, 1386–89), passim; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 208–10; Kamali, *Principles*, 67.

54 For their influence on the generation of *ḥadīth*, see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 210–12; Kamali, *Principles*, 67. For background to their activities, and a translation of some typical Quṣṣās tales, see M. L. Swartz's edition and translation of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-Quṣṣās wa'l-Mudhakkirīn* (Beirut, 1971CE), especially the editor's introduction, pp 39–80.

55 Considered by al-Dāmīrī to have been the first storyteller in Islam. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 152.

56 According to Ibn Saʿd, he, rather than al-Dāri, was Islam's first 'storyteller'. Ibn Saʿd, V, 34.

57 al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt wa'l-Qudāt* (Leiden, 1912CE), 303–4 fn; cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 151.

58 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 151.

59 Ibid., II, 151–52; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 5.

60 Ibid.

61 al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Cairo, 1352), III, 179.

62 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 158.

63 al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk* (Leiden, 1888CE), III, 2131.

64 Ḥākim (Robson), *Madkhal*, 28–9; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 213–15.

65 al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿIṭidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl* (Cairo, 1325), III, 245; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 102; cf. Kamali, *Principles*, 68.

66 Dhahabī, *Mizān*, I, 7–8; cf. Kamali, *Principles*, 68.

67 Dhahabī, *Mizān*, 67.

68 Ibn Ḥajar, *Liṣān*, I, 419.

69 Ibid., VI, no. 819.

70 Ibid., no. 480; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 102.

71 Dhahabī, *Mizān*, I, no. 321.

72 Ibid., II, 13.

73 Ibid., 23.

74 Ibid., III, 257.

75 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 55.

76 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 102.

77 Ibid., 100.

78 Dhahabī, *Mizān*, I, no. 22.

79 Ibid., no. 562.

80 Ibid., no. 564.

81 Ibid., no. 403.

82 Ibid., no. 2918.

83 Ibid., no. 3641.

84 Ibid., no. 3950.

85 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ*, II, 129.

86 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 219–49; see above, p. 30.

87 Ibn Abd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ*, II, 132.

88 Ibid., I, 80.

89 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 11.

90 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 61.

91 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 4.

92 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 183. For some instances of the very early use of *isnād*, see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 220–26.

93 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 12.

94 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 61. Criticism of narrators by the first two generations is described in Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 232–39.

95 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 531–32.

96 Ibn Abd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ*, II, 48; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq* (Damascus, 1332), IV, 172.

97 al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla* (Cairo, 1312), 57ff.

98 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 10.

99 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 629; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 17.

100 Dhahabī, *Mizān*, I, 18; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110.

101 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 202–3.

102 Abbott, *Studies*, II, 83.

103 See above, 132; also Loth, 'Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaqāt,' ZDMG XXIII, 593; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 56.

104 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 15.

105 Ibid., I, 6.

106 Ibid., I, 13.

107 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 316.

108 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 262.

109 These traditionists included al-Aʿmash, Shuʿba, Mālik, Maʿmar, Hishām al-Dastuwāʾī, al-Awzāʿī, al-Thawrī, Ibn al-Māijishūn, Ḥammād ibn Salama, al-Layth ibn Saʿd, and, somewhat later, Hushaym, Ibn al-Mubārak, Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī, al-Muʿāfa ibn ʿImrān, Bishr ibn al-Mufaddal, Ibn ʿUyayna, Ibn ʿUlayya, Ibn Wahb and Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāh. (Cited by al-Jazāʾirī, *Tawjīh*, 114.)

110 Ibn Saʿd, IV/ii, 111.

111 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 194.

112 Ibid., 234.

113 Ibn Saʿd, IV/i, 161.

114 Ibid., III/ii, 20.

115 Ibid., V, 90ff.

116 Ibid., VII/i, 82.

117 Ibid., 103.

- 118 Ibid., VII/1, 119.
- 119 Ibid., VI, 52.
- 120 Ibid., V, 90, 93, 95–6.
- 121 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 115.
- 122 al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* (Leipzig, 1864CE), I, 284.
- 123 Ibn Khallikān, no. 560.
- 124 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 287.
- 125 Ibn Khallikān, no. 304.
- 126 Ibid., no. 270.
- 127 Ibid., nos. 251, 278.
- 128 Ibid., no. 155.
- 129 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 162–64.
- 130 Ibn Khallikān, no. 775.
- 131 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 183ff.
- 132 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 203–16.
- 133 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 6ff.
- 134 Ibid., 161ff.
- 135 Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 62.
- 136 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘*, I, 163–86.
- 137 Ibid., I, 93–4.
- 138 Ibid., I, 35.
- 139 Ibid.

- 140 For the *riḥla* phenomenon, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Riḥla fī Ṭalab al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Iṭr (Damascus, 1395); Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 176–84; Abbott, *Studies*, II, 40–3.
- 141 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 95.
- 142 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IV, no. 145.
- 143 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 71.
- 144 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘*, I, 95.
- 145 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 46ff.
- 146 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 166.
- 147 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 646.
- 148 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 255.
- 149 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 353.
- 150 Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 69.
- 151 Ibid., V, 45.
- 152 Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, V, 140.
- 153 Ibn Sa‘d, II/ii, 131.
- 154 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 218.
- 155 Ibid., 210.
- 156 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 153.
- 157 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 153.
- 158 Ibid., I, 111.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Cf. pp. 9–10 above. A list of some of the earliest legal texts is given in Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 24–5.
- 2 For some insights into the change in consciousness, both positive and negative, brought about by mass literacy, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Bugbear of Literacy* (London, 1948CE).
- 3 Cf. F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967CE).
- 4 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 89.
- 5 R. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1930CE), 13. It is surprising that Margoliouth does not even mention the name of this author in his *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, 1930CE).
- 6 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 90.
- 7 Ibid. For other Arabic medical works of this period, see my *Studies in Arabic and Persian Medical Literature* (Calcutta, 1959CE).
- 8 J. Horowitz, ‘The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors’ (i), *IC*, I (1927), 335–59, 536–39.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibn Sa‘d, V, 133.
- 11 Ḥajī Khalifa, V, 535–6.

- 12 Ibid., 540–41.
- 13 A. Harley, ‘The Musnad of ‘Umar b. ‘Abdīl-‘Azīz’, *JASB*, XX, 391–488.
- 14 Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, title page.
- 15 Ḥajī Khalifa, V, 533.
- 16 *COPL*, v/i, 157–62.
- 17 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IV, no. 316; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 322; ‘Iyād, *Ilmā’*, 61.
- 18 The printed text, as well as the Patna MS, appear to be incomplete. The traditions related by al-‘Abbās ibn al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far, Ka‘b ibn Mālik, Salama ibn al-Akwa‘, Sahl ibn Sa‘d, Mu‘āwiya, and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās, whose *ḥadīths* are referred to on other pages, are entirely missing from the body of this version. Some of the traditions narrated by ‘Umar are likewise misplaced. Cf. Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 20–1.
- 19 Students of Ṭayālīsī are greatly assisted by the concordance of al-Sā‘ātī, *Minḥat al-Ma‘būd fī tartīb Musnad al-Ṭayālīsī Abū Daūd* (Cairo, 1372).
- 20 Ḥajī Khalifa, V, 533; cf. Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 34.
- 21 All sections of the book are transmitted on his common authority.

- 22 Robson, J, 'Standards Applied by Muslim Traditionists,' (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* XLIII (1961 CE), 459-79), 461.
- 23 Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, nos. 77, 241, 263, 387, 484, 1060, 1158, 2179 etc.
- 24 *Ibid.*, nos 1021, etc.
- 25 *Ibid.*, nos. 393, 644, 837, 886, 892, 917, 938, etc.
- 26 For instance, *ibid.*, no 381.
- 27 For instance, *ibid.*, nos. 456, 718, 2254.
- 28 For instance, *ibid.*, nos. 519, 1539.
- 29 For instance, *ibid.*, no. 794.
- 30 *COPL*, VI, 157-62.
- 31 Two later editions of the *Musnad* have been published in Egypt: one by al-Bannā, and the other by Shākir. The latter (Cairo, vols. 1-16, 1373/1954) is extremely scholarly, and includes a precise and illuminating introduction to the author and his work. Shākir numbers each *ḥadīth*, and adds to each volume several useful indices. Unfortunately, the editor passed away before completing the work; a serious loss to the world of scholarship. The former was reprinted in 1389 in Beirut by al-Maktab al-Islāmī and Dār Ṣādir, together with a useful index of companions.
- 32 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab* (MS in library of M. Z. Siddiqi), 230.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*, 321; Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, II, 1358.
- 35 al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Leiden, 1888 CE), 335.
- 36 Patton, W. M., *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden, 1897), 10.
- 37 Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, I, no. 126; Wüstenfeld, F. *Der Imām el-Schāfiʿi: seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum J. 300 d.H.* (Göttingen, 1890 CE), no. 13.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 203; Patton, 108, 112, 145.
- 41 Patton, 142.
- 42 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 203-4; Patton, 172.
- 43 Patton, 14, 141, 147.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 150.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 144.
- 46 Patton, 152.
- 47 Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, I, no. 1261; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 142-45.
- 48 Patton, 194.
- 49 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 229.
- 50 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 202.
- 51 *Ibid.* 203.
- 52 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 308; IV, 269.
- 53 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 229.
- 54 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 202; Goldziher, 'Neue Materialien zur Literatur des Überlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedaner,' (*ZDMG* L (1896 CE), 465-506), 472 fn.
- 55 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 31.
- 56 Goldziher, 'Neue Materialien', 485-86.
- 57 Cf. Khoury, R. G., 'L'importance d'Ibn Lahī'a et de son papyrus conservé à Heidelberg dans la tradition musulmane du deuxième siècle de l'hégire,' *Arabica*, XXII (1975), 6-14; Azami *Early Hadith Literature*, 29.
- 58 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 252-53.
- 59 *Ibid.*, III, 202.
- 60 *Ibid.*, VI, 101.
- 61 *Ibid.*, III, 201. For some other instances of his exactitude, see *ibid.*, I, 308; III, 33; V, 352, 385.
- 62 *Ibid.*, II, 184; VI, 420.
- 63 In connection with some traditions, he states, for instance, that he read them with his father (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 157). Others, he says, he found in his father's manuscript (III, 310). Still others he found in the manuscript and had heard from his father, but had not made a note of them (IV, 96).
- 64 *Ibid.*, III, 182; IV, 96; V, 26.
- 65 *Ibid.*, I, 252; II, 449; III, 3; IV, 225; V, 382; VI, 73.
- 66 *Ibid.*, V, 358.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 336; V, 326; VI, 326.
- 68 *Ibid.*, IV, 91. 'Abd Allāh's editing has, however, been criticised by an eminent Indian traditionist of the last century, who claims that he committed many mistakes in the actual arrangement of the work, by including, for instance, the narrations of the Madinans in the *musnad* of the Syrians, and vice versa. Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 31.
- 69 Goldziher, 'Neue Materialien', 466.
- 70 Ḥājī Khalīfa, V, 534-35.
- 71 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, VII, 29.
- 72 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 9-11.
- 73 Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, XXIV, no. 12.
- 74 Ḥājī Khalīfa, V, 535.
- 75 *Ibid.*, V, 534-35.
- 76 Goldziher, 'Neue Materialien', 470.
- 77 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 31-2.
- 78 EI, 'Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal'.
- 79 Goldziher, 'Neue Materialien', 467.
- 80 Published at Hyderabad, 1362. Sezgin, I.

- 81 Published at Bombay, 1386–90. Sezgin, I, 108–9.
- 82 Schacht, J., 'Ibn Rāhawayh,' *El²*, III, 902; Abbott, *Studies*, II, 69.
- 83 Sezgin, I, 101–2; Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 41–2.
- 84 Sezgin, I, 170–1; ed. A. al-Aʿzamī, Beirut, 1300.
- 85 Ḥājī Khalifa, V, 532–43.
- 86 For this genre see Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 134–35; Abdul Rauf, 'Ḥadīth Literature', 272–73.
- 87 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 308.
- 88 Beirut, 1390–92; in 11 volumes. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima Fath al-Bārī* (Delhi, 1302), 489; Sezgin, I, 99.
- 89 Ibn Khallikān, no. 409.
- 90 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 228.
- 91 Ḥājī Khalifa, III, 629.
- 92 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 51.
- 93 al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb* (Leiden, 1912CE) 355b.
- 94 Bombay, 1386–90. Cf. Sezgin, I, 108–9.
- 95 The best-known study of his life and *Ṣaḥīḥ* is *al-Imām al-Bukhārī wa-Ṣaḥīḥuh* by the late 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abd al-Khāliq, known as Abū'l-Kamāl, formerly Imām of the Sayyida Nafisa mosque complex in Cairo. This book was originally an introduction to 'Abd al-Khāliq's edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, published in Mecca by the Maktabat al-Nahḍa in 1376, and was later republished as a separate work, both in Jeddah and the United States. Here we are using the Jeddah edition of 1405.
- 96 For detailed accounts of the life and *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, see, in addition to the work of 'Abd al-Khāliq: Sezgin, I, 115–34; Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 110–4; Abdul Rauf, 'Ḥadīth Literature,' 274–75.
- 97 Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 36.
- 98 Arberry, A., 'The Teachers of Al-Bukhārī,' *IQ XXXI* (1967), 34–49; Sezgin, M. F., *Buhārī'nin Kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar* (Istanbul, 1956).
- 99 Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima*, 564.
- 100 Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 44f.
- 101 Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima*, 566.
- 102 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 4.
- 103 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 90.
- 104 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 6.
- 105 For these see Abbott, *Studies*, II, 52–3.
- 106 Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 36ff; Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima*, 568ff; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 87–91.
- 107 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 5.
- 108 'Abd al-Khāliq, 147–54; cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 230; Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima*, 493; Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, 35. Bukhārī's best-known works, apart from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, are: *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, Hyderabad, 1361, in 8 vols., cf., above 100; *al-Tārīkh al-Saghīr*, Allāhabad, 1325; and *Raf' al-yadayn*, Delhi, 1299.
- 109 Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 33ff., 46.
- 110 Guillaume, A. *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford, 1924CE), 93.
- 111 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 95; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 24. For a listing and assessment of the various printed editions, see 'Abd al-Khāliq, 245–56.
- 112 Or 300,000, according to another account. Of these, he had 100,000 by heart. Abbott, *Studies*, II, 69.
- 113 For a detailed analysis of Bukhārī's understanding of the term 'sound' (*Ṣaḥīḥ*), see Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 22ff; 'Abd al-Khāliq, 200–1.
- 114 Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 22ff.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 30.
- 117 Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima*, 13; Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 11–2.
- 118 Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddima*, 12f; Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 22f.
- 119 'Abd al-Khāliq, 230–39. Twenty-eight shorter glosses are also listed in this source (pp. 239–42), sixteen epitomes (pp. 242–43), and sixteen works on matters relating to its indexing, biographical information, and so forth (pp. 243–45). Other lists of commentaries may be consulted in Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, I, 39–42, and Ḥājī Khalifa, II, 521–39.
- 120 Ḥājī Khalifa, II, 545.
- 121 Jazā'irī, *Tawjīh*, 96–113.
- 122 Nawawī, *al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj* (Cairo, 1347), 8.
- 123 A. Mingana has published a note on a ms. of some old fragments of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī as 'An Important ms. of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*', *JRAS* (1936), pp. 287–92. He describes the special features of the manuscript, and promises to publish a complete set of facsimile reproductions of it (this was apparently never achieved). His suggestion, however, that the book was not composed by al-Bukhārī, but by a student of the book one or two generations after the great traditionist, on the grounds that the word *akḥḥaranā* is used for him, and *ḥaddathanā* for the later narrators, is mistaken. For the strict use of these terms was far from being definitely fixed at the time of al-

Bukhārī. In the *Risāla Taqyīd al-ʿIlm* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, the author is introduced by the term *akhhāranā*, and other narrators by *ḥaddathanā*.

- 124 'al-Bukhārī', *EI*, I, 783.
- 125 For his life and work see Sezgin, I, 136ff; Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 275.
- 126 Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, I, 752.
- 127 Ibn Hāzīm, *Jamhara*, fol. 288.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, X, no. 226.
- 131 Ibn Khallikān, no. 727.
- 132 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 117.
- 133 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 231. Perhaps Muslim's best known work, other than the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, is his *Kitāb al-Tamyiz*, ed. M. M. al-Aʿzamī, Riyadh, 1395/1975.
- 134 Ḥājī Khalīfa, II, 541ff; cf. Nawawī, *Minhāj*, I, 4.
- 135 Nawawī, *Minhāj*, I, 5.
- 136 Qastallānī, *Irshād*, 8-9.
- 137 Nawawī, *Minhāj*, 5.
- 138 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, muqaddima, 3ff.
- 139 The distinction is explained in greater detail in 'Iyād, *Ilmāʾ*, 122-34.
- 140 Nawawī, *Minhāj*, 5.
- 141 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 117.
- 142 Nawawī, *Minhāj*, 8.
- 143 Twenty-seven commentaries on the work are listed by Sezgin, I, 136-40.
- 144 Edited by M. M. Aʿzamī, Beirut, 1391-97 in four volumes. Cf. Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrij*, 213.
- 145 Ibn Hibbān's *ḥadīths* are most usually consulted in the work of al-Haythamī (d. 807/1405), *Mawāriḍ al-ḥamʿān ilā zawāʾid Ibn Hibbān*. This includes such of Ibn Hibbān's *ḥadīths* as are not also recorded by Bukhārī and Muslim, numbering 2,647.
- 146 Tirmidhī's work is more properly a *jāmiʿ* collection, including material on all the various topics; but as it has conventionally acquired the title *Sunan*, it has been included in this chapter for ease of reference.
- 147 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 709. Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿi*, 91, doubts the accuracy of the statement that Abū Daūd had been engaged on his book for this period.
- 148 Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 293; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 709.
- 149 Ibn Khallikān, no. 271.
- 150 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, III, 44.

- 151 Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 293.
- 152 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 48.
- 153 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, III, 44.
- 154 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 710.
- 155 An account of many of these teachers may be found in the works on *asmāʾ al-rijāl*.
- 156 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 49.
- 157 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 710.
- 158 For the *Sunan*, see Sezgin, I, 149-52; Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 276.
- 159 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 230.
- 160 See Abū Daūd's *Risāla ilā ahl Makka* (Beirut, n.d.).
- 161 Abū Daūd, *Sunan*, I, 4.
- 162 Ibid., I, 26.
- 163 Ibid., 32-3.
- 164 Ibid., 133-34.
- 165 Ibid., 138.
- 166 Ibid., 162.
- 167 Ibid., 221.
- 168 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 711-12.
- 169 For this work see Sezgin, I, 154-59; Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 276.
- 170 It is interesting to record that his tomb, vandalised by the Soviets, was restored by the Uzbek authorities in 1410/1990, and is now once again an important centre for pious visits.
- 171 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 121.
- 172 Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ*, I, 5.
- 173 Ibid., I, 13.
- 174 Ibid., II, 16.
- 175 Other terms, which need not detain us here, are occasionally encountered in his work.
- 176 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 14-5.
- 177 Ibid., 14ff; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 53-4.
- 178 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 83-4; Ibn Khallikān, no. 28.
- 179 Wüstenfeld, *Schāfiʿi*, 70.
- 180 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 268.
- 181 For the *Sunan* see Sezgin, 167-69; Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 276.
- 182 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 84. The original *Sunan* was published in a six-volume facsimile edition in Beirut in 1411/1991.
- 183 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 232.
- 184 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 268.
- 185 Ḥājī Khalīfa, III, 626-27.
- 186 Cf. Sezgin, I, 114-15; Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 277. An ancient manuscript copy was brought from Mecca, and lithographed and published in India at the instance of Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal, one of the nine-

teenth century's great patrons of *ḥadīth* learning.

187 al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-Khamīs* (Cairo, 1309[?]), II, 341.

188 Dārimī, *Sunan*, editor's introduction, 6.

189 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 218b; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 115–17.

190 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 15.

191 Dārimī, *Sunan*, editor's introduction, 7; Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 48.

192 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 15.

193 Dihlawī, *Muqaddima*, introduction.

194 Ḥājī Khalīfa, V, 540.

195 For the work see Sezgin, I, 147–48; Abdul Rauf, *'Ḥadīth Literature'*, 276–77.

196 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 209ff.

197 Dihlawī, *Muqaddima*, introduction. One might also note the verdict of Ibn al-Jawzī to the effect that *ḥadīths* on the merits of individuals, tribes or towns are usually fraudulent. Ibn al-Jawzī's work, however (the *Mawḍū'āt*), is generally regarded as exaggerated in its approach; cf. al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā al-Manzūma al-Bayqūnīya fi'l-Muṣṭalah*, ed. Nabil al-Sharīf (Beirut, 1405/1985), 94–5.

198 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, XII, 34–40.

199 See above, 91.

200 Ibn Khallikān, no. 32.

201 Ibid., no. 626.

202 Ibid., p. 38.

203 Ibid.

204 Ibid., nos. 132, 445.

205 For a list of these, see Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, no. 235.

206 For the *Sunan*, see Sezgin, I, 206–9.

207 al-Baghawī, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna* (Cairo, n.d.), 2.

208 Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 48.

209 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 4.

210 Ḥājī Khalīfa, III, 627; Abdul Rauf, *'Ḥadīth Literature'*, 281–82. His best-known work, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, was published in a ten volume edition in Hyderabad, 1344.

211 Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 3–5.

212 Sezgin, I, 104.

213 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 5.

214 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, III,

no. 148.

215 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 5; Dihlawī, *Bustān*, 51.

216 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, sub. nom.

217 See below, 31.

218 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, VI, 122.

219 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, III, 129.

220 Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, III, 129.

221 Ḥājī Khalīfa, V, 629; Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 45.

222 Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 45–6.

223 Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr* (Cairo, 1388); for which see Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 36. Towards the end of the book, however, two or three traditions with the same *isnād* are sometimes given. *Ḥadīths* included in these three *Mu'jams*, and in the *Musnads* of al-Bazzār and Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī, but not found in the Sound Six collections, are gathered in the *Majma' al-Zawā'id wa-Manba' al-Fawā'id* of al-Haythami, published in ten volumes in Cairo in 1352. Cf. Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 120.

224 Ḥājī Khalīfa, V, 623–30. The best known are the *Mu'jam al-Ṣahāba* of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Lāl (d. 398/1008), the *Mu'jam al-Ṣahāba* of Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919), cf. Ṭahhān, *Takhrīj*, 46; and the *Mu'jam al-Ṣahāba* of Ibn Qānī (d. 351/962); cf. Sezgin, I, 189.

225 Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bāligha* (Cairo, 1352), I, 132–4.

226 Ibid.

227 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 8.

228 Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 16.

229 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 240–41.

230 Distinguished *ḥadīth* expert who died in 353/964 in Egypt, and whose *Muṣannaf* was recognised a century after his death by Ibn Ḥazm as one of the finest collections of *ḥadīth*.

231 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 29.

232 Ibid., 32.

233 Ibid., 56.

234 Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 240–41.

235 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 243.

236 Such as, for instance, Dihlawī, *Hujja*, I, 134–35.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 For the *isnād* system, see 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 194-98; Azami, *Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 212-47; idem, *Schacht's Origins*, 154-212; J. Robson, 'The Isnād in Muslim Tradition', reprinted from *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, XV (1965CE), pp. 15-26.
- 2 Leone Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam* (Milan 1905-18; Rome, 1926CE), I, 30.
- 3 J. Horowitz, 'Alter und Ursprung des Isnād', *Der Islam*, VIII (1917CE), 39-47. Cf. Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 167.
- 4 Their conclusions are summarised in A. H. Harley, 'The Musnad of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz', *JASB*, New Series, XX (1924CE), 391-488, 404-5.
- 5 The falsity of this presupposition has been shown by Abbott, *Studies*, II, 64, and *passim*.
- 6 *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, 20.
- 7 Horowitz, 'Alter'. Whether the *isnād* system really goes back a long distance towards the Mosaic period is, however, open to doubt; Horowitz has not proved that these '*isnāds*' are not later interpolations.
- 8 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wa'l-Ahu'* *wa'l-nihal* (Cairo, 1347), II, 67-70.
- 9 As far as I am aware, no serious notice of this fact has yet been taken. It was pointed out to me for the first time by my late friend Dr. Prabodh-chandra Bagchi, the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University (India).
- 10 *Mahabharata*, Book 1, canto I; cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1927CE), I, 323.
- 11 Translated by A. B. Keith, *The Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, with an appendix on the Mahāvratā* (London, 1908CE), 71-2.
- 12 *Sacred Books of the East*, XV, 224-27.
- 13 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, 34, fn. 3.
- 14 P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fond Tibetaïn de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1915CE), III, 163.
- 15 Caetani, *Annali*, I, 31.
- 16 Horowitz, 'Alter', 43-4.
- 17 Who, according to Caetani, never used the *isnād* method.
- 18 J. Horowitz, 'The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors', *IC I* (1927CE), 535-59, 550-51.
- 19 Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muham-*
madan Jurisprudence (Oxford, 1959CE), 37, 163.
20 Ibid., 36.
- 21 For this account, see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 220; Nawawī, *Minhāj*, I, 84.
- 22 Robson, 'Standards,' 460; cf. Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 220.
- 23 Robson, 164, fn. 1.
- 24 Abbott, *Studies*, II, 2; cf. II, 5-32.
- 25 Qaṣṭallānī, *Mawāhib*, V, 454.
- 26 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 221.
- 27 Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 155.
- 28 Horowitz, 'Alter', 47.
- 29 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 20-1.
- 30 Sakhāwī, *Faṭḥ*, 8-10. This *isnād* has been criticised by Schacht (*Origins*, 170, 176), on the grounds that Mālik was too young at the time of Nāfi's death, and therefore could not have heard from the latter. This argument, however, assumes that the reader will not check the facts for himself, for Mālik was almost 23 years of age when Nāfi^c died, and was hence in a perfectly good position to study under him. Cf. Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 171. Coulson, despite his reservations about certain aspects of Schacht's theory, here repeats Schacht's sweeping assertion without comment (*Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, I, 319).
- 31 Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 507.
- 32 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 22-3. Another exercise occasionally indulged in was locating the 'weakest *isnād*'. Some thought that this was the *isnād* Marwān-al-Kalbī-Abū Ṣāliḥ-Ibn 'Abbās. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 247 fn. 2.
- 33 There are *ḥadīth* scholars even today who can recite their *ḥadīths* complete with *isnāds* stretching back from themselves to the Prophet without interruption. Such a chain typically contains between twenty and thirty narrators, and is termed *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal*.
- 34 al-Munajjid, 'Ijāzat al-Samā' fi al-Makḥṭū'āt al-Qadima', in *Journal of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts*, I/ii (Cairo, 1375/1955), 232ff.
- 35 Ateş, *Corum ve Yozgat kütüphanelerinden bazı mühim Arapça yazmalar* (Istanbul, 1959CE), 3-4.
- 36 C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt I* (Heidelberg, 1906CE). I am indebted to Professor Otto Spies for a copy of page 8 of Becker's work. For additional information see J. Horowitz, 'Wahb ibn Munabbih', *EI*, IV, 1084-85.

- 37 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 81f; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 158; Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 265.
- 38 COPL, V/i, no. 241.
- 39 Ibid., no. 254.
- 40 Ibid., ii, no. 322.
- 41 Ibid., no. 483.
- 42 Ibid., XII, no. 800.
- 43 W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1895 CE), II, no. 246.
- 44 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 82.
- 45 A number of Arabic MSS on subjects other than tradition and provided with notes of this type are described by G. Vajda in his *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1956 CE). See in particular pp. 37ff.
- 46 Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, 19.
- 47 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī 'ilm al-Riṣā'a* (Hyderabad, 1368/1949), 171–203.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 49; 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 201.
- 50 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 164.
- 51 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, I, 17, 26.
- 52 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 164.
- 53 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, IV, 135.
- 54 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 48.
- 55 Ibid., 69–70; Sezgin, 58–9; Robson, 'Standards', 470.
- 56 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 70–9; Sezgin, 59; Robson, 'Standards', 470.
- 57 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 88–107; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 311–26; Sezgin, 59; Robson, 'Standards', 470.
- 58 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 79–83; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 330–34; Sezgin, 59; Robson, 'Standards', 472–73; Abbott, *Studies*, I, 25.
- 59 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 83–7; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 334; Sezgin, 59; Robson, 'Standards', 473–74.
- 60 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 107–15; Sezgin, 59.
- 61 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 115–16; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 352–53; Sezgin, 59; Robson, 'Standards', 474.
- 62 'Iyād, *Ilmā'*, 116–17; Sezgin, 59–60; Robson, 'Standards', 474; Abbott, *Studies*, II, 45–6. For more on these eight categories, see also Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 50–69; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 129–50; Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 170–236.
- 63 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 4–8.
- 64 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 159–70.
- 65 For all these points, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 70–82; Sakhāwī, *Fath*, 236–68; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 151–59; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 237–41.
- 66 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 41.
- 67 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, I, 163–86.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 46–7.
- 70 Horowitz, J., 'The Earliest Biographers of the Prophet and their Authors' (ii) (IC II (1928 CE), 22–50), 48.
- 71 Ibid., 41–2.
- 72 See above, 47–49.
- 73 See above, 54.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

- 1 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 9.
- 2 Ibid., 256.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Cf. Wellhausen, *J. Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897 CE), 94–101.
- 5 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, 154.
- 6 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 254.
- 7 Horowitz, 'The Earliest Biographies', 550, 558; Ibn Sa'd, V, 133.
- 8 Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī Du'afā' al-Rijāl* (Beirut, 1402). This text has been quoted by Jazā'irī, *Tauḥīd*, 114.
- 9 Loth, O. 'Ursprung und Bedeutung der Tabakāt', (ZDMG XXIII, 593–614), 600.
- 10 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 228, 199.
- 11 *Der Islam*, VIII, 47.
- 12 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 265.
- 13 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 99f.
- 14 Cf. Ibn al-Khayyāt, *Tārikh*, and his *Tabaqāt* (Sezgin, 110–11; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 265).
- 15 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 99f.
- 16 Ibid., 230, 231, 233; Ḥājī Khalifa, II, 141. Best-known amongst these are Bukhārī, *al-Tārikh al-Kabīr* (Hyderabad, 1381; cf. Sezgin, I, 132–3) and his *al-Tārikh al-Ṣaghīr* (Allahabad, 1324; cf. Sezgin, I, 133); Muslim, *Kutab al-Tamwiz* (Sezgin, I, 143); Nasā'ī, *al-Du'afā' al-Ṣaghīr* (Hyderabad, 1325); cf. also Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-'Ilal wa-Ma'rifa al-Rijāl* (ed. Talat Kocuyigit, Ankara, 1963 CE).
- 17 Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, I, editor's introduction, I.
- 18 Margoliouth, *Lectures*, 7f.
- 19 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 274–5.
- 20 The best known of which is al-Dawlabī, *al-Kunā wa'l-asmā'* (Hyderabad, 1322; cf. Sezgin,

I, 172). For others see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 276-9.

21 Leiden, 1912CE; cf. Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 280.

For more in this class see *ibid.*, 279-80.

22 See above, 103-5.

23 Beirut, 1402.

24 Ed. Būrān al-Dānāwī and Kamāl al-Hūt. Beirut, 1405/1985.

25 For some more, see Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 281-87; Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 200ff.

26 See above, 136.

27 Ibn Sa'd, III/I, editor's introduction.

28 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*, V, 312f.

29 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 171.

30 Nawawī, *Tahdhib*, 7; Ibn Khallikān, no. 656.

31 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*, VIII, 92ff.

32 *Ibid.*, V, 160.

33 *Ibid.*, III, 121.

34 For the history of the Sachau edition of the *Ṭabaqāt*, see Appendix III.

35 For some important lacunae in this volume see the references given in J. Fück, 'Ibn Sa'd', *EP*, III, 923.

36 Ibn Sa'd, III/I, editor's introduction, xxx *et seq.*

37 Loth, 'Ursprung', 604-5; Ibn Sa'd, III/I, xxxvii-xxxviii.

38 Hitti, P. *The Origins of the Islamic State* (Columbia, 1924CE), I, 9.

39 Tabarī, *Tārikh*, I, 1113-16. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, I/I, 28, 29.

40 Nawawī, *Tahdhib*, 7.

41 Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, I, 2.

42 Cf. Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 265-66; Abdul Rauf, 'Hadith Literature', 278-79; Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 175-77.

43 Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 177-78.

44 Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, I, 1.

45 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*, X, 111-17.

46 Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 171.

47 Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, XIII, 62.

48 Ibn Khallikān, no. 847. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's book, *al-Istī'āb*, contained the biographies of only three hundred Companions; a supplement was appended by Ibn Fathūn, which contained notices of an approximately equal number. Cf. Ḥāji Khalifa, I, 277; Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 170.

49 Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 170-71.

50 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 32; Ḥāji Khalifa, I, 278f.

51 Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 171-73.

52 *Ibid.*, 32n.

53 *Ibid.*, 172.

54 *Ibid.*, 205-6.

55 For the importance of 'theological local historiography' note the following passage, attributed to Šāliḥ ibn Aḥmad, author of *Ṭabaqāt al-Hamadhāniyyin*: 'When religious scholarship has been cultivated in a place and scholars lived there in ancient and modern times, the students of traditions there and all those interested in traditions should begin with a thorough study of the *ḥadīths* of their own home town. Once the student knows what is sound and what is unsound in their traditions, and is completely acquainted with the *ḥadīth* scholars of his city and their conditions, he may occupy himself with the traditions of other places, and with travelling in search of traditions.' (Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*, I, 214, cited in F. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952CE), 144. See also Ibn al-Šalāh, 100ff.)

56 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 267. The only previous history of the city, by Tayfūr Aḥmad ibn Abi Ṭāhir (204-280/819-883), of which only the sixth volume is known (lithographed and translated into German by H. Keller (Leipzig, 1908CE)), deals only with the history of the Caliphs.

57 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, appendix, p. 5.

58 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, I, 248-49.

59 Access to the *ḥadīth* content of the book is facilitated by the separate index of Aḥmad al-Ghummarī: *Miftāḥ al-Tarīb li-Aḥādīth Tārikh al-Khaṭīb* (Cairo, 1372). Cf. Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 81-3 for the method of using this index.

60 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*, I, 224; II, 521; IV, 176; VI, 101.

61 Ḥāji Khalifa, II, 119f.

62 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, V, 140-44. Apart from the *History*, his best-known work is his *Tabayin Kadhib al-Muftarī*, in which he defends the doctrines of Ash'ari orthodoxy against the anthropomorphism of the neo-Hanbalites.

63 Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh Dimashq*, I, 10f.

64 'Syria' (*al-Shām*) at this time included present-day Palestine.

65 Ed. Girgis 'Awaḍ, Baghdād, 1967CE.

66 Ed. 'Alī al-Shabbī and Na'im Ḥasan al-Yāfi, Tunis, 1968CE.

67 Ed. Ṭāhir al-Na'sānī, Ḥamā, n.d.

68 Leiden, 1931CE.

69 Ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mu'allimī, Hyderabad, 1369.

70 Ibn Khallikān, nos. 32, 631.

71 Ibid., no. 626.

72 Ḥājī Khalifa, II, 125f.

73 Ibn Khallikān, no. 406.

74 Ibid., no. 672.

75 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, I, 410; Ḥājī Khalifa, II, 143.

76 Ibn Khallikān, no. 502.

77 Ḥājī Khalifa, II, 157.

78 Ibid., II, 140f.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Qur'an, XXIV, 12.

2 Qur'an, IX, 30.

3 Mullā Jiwān, *Nūr al-Anwār* (Calcutta, 1359), 180; al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuhfat al-Aḥwadhī* (Delhi, 1346-53), II, 197.

4 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb al-tayammum (I, 61).

5 ibid., I, 10.

6 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 141.

7 Al-Ḥākim's work, *al-Madkhal ilā Ma'rifat al-Iklīl*, is the only book of this type with an English translation: J. Robson, *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition* (London, 1953CE).

8 Published Hyderabad, 1357.

9 Published Cairo, 1398.

10 Published Cairo, 1326, another edition 1974CE.

11 For a list see Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 9.

12 Published Lucknow, n.d.

13 Published Cairo, 1307; new edition 1379.

14 Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 99.

15 For more on this division, see Zurqānī, *Sharḥ*, 22ff, 59; Kamali, *Principles*, 81-2.

16 'A *ḥadīth* which a Successor (*tābi'ī*) has directly attributed to the Prophet without mentioning the last link, namely the Companion who might have narrated it from the Prophet' (Kamali, *Principles*, 79).

17 Jazā'irī, *Tawjīh*, 113-18; cf. Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 156-66.

18 Kamali, *Principles*, 68-70; 'Abd al-Khāliq, 63-4.

19 Jiwān, *Nūr*, 176.

20 Nawawī, *Taqrīb*, 190.

21 Ibid., 191.

22 Beirut, 1405.

23 Kamali, *Principles*, 70-1.

24 Ibid., 71-8; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 18-20, 25.

25 Qur'an, LIX, 7; cf. Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 7-15.

26 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 26.

27 Ibid., 32-3.

28 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 124.

29 Ibid., 137; Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 114.

30 Ibn Sa'd, I, 52.

31 For *ra'y* see Kamali, *Principles*, 251-52.

32 Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 118-20.

33 See 'Asqalānī's commentary on Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, kitāb farḍ al-khumus, bāb qismat al-imām.

34 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 264; Dihlawī, *Hujjat Allāh al-Bāligha*, (Lahore edition, 1351AH), I, 249-50.

35 Kamali, *Principles*, 48; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 23-7.

36 Dārimī, *Sunan*, 26ff; Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, 117-19; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi'*, II, 31-3.

37 Shibli Nu'mānī, *al-Fārūq*, II, 196.

38 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 8-12. For more on the legal force of *ḥadīth*, see Kamali, *Principles*, 48-50.

39 As Abbott notes (*Studies*, II, 75-6), Orientalist scholarship has generally ignored the phenomenon of *matn* criticism. Even so late a writer as Coulson ('European Criticism', 317) believes of the *ḥadīth* scholars that 'their test for authenticity was confined to an investigation of the chain of transmitters (*isnād*). There could, by the terms of the religious faith itself, be no questioning of the content of the report; for this was the substance of divine revelation and therefore not susceptible to any form of legal or historical criticism.' A brief inspection of works such as Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mawḍū'āt*, together with the contents of the present section, readily corrects this assumption.

40 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 100.

41 Ibid., 99.

42 al-Ḥākim, *Ma'rifa 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1937CE), 58ff.

43 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 48.

44 Ibid., 89.

45 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 243.

46 Azami, *Schacht's Origins*, 114; Kamali, *Principles*, 59.

47 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 244-45. For the techniques of reconciling *ḥadīth* see Kamali, *Principles*, 356-65.

- 48 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 242; Azami *Schacht's Origins*, 114.
 49 Ibid., 247.
 50 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 208–20; Kamali, *Principles*, 66–7.
 51 Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 244.
 52 Ibid., 243.
 53 Ibid., 242.
 54 *al-Mawḍūʿāt* (Medina, 1386–89).
 55 *al-Laʿālī al-Maṣnūʿa fiʾl-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍūʿa* (Beirut, 1408).
 56 *al-Fawāʾid al-Majmūʿa fi bayān al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍūʿa* (Lahore, 1223 [1323?]).

- 57 Taḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 64–71, 148–49; Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 282–91.
 58 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb khalq ʿĀdam; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, VI, 230.
 59 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Kitāb al-Ṣulḥ, bāb 1; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, ad. loc.
 60 [Cf. Ibrāhīm in] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*; Shawkānī, *Fawāʾid*, 144.
 61 Ibn al-Qayyim, *Zād al-Maʿād* (Kanpur, 1298), 97. Cf. Bell, *Love Theory in Early Hanbali Islam*, 26.
 62 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, VIII, 354.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

1 Maura O'Neill, *Women Speaking, Women Listening* (Maryknoll, 1990CE), 31: 'Muslims do not use a masculine God as either a conscious or unconscious tool in the construction of gender roles.'

2 For a general overview of the question of women's status in Islam, see M. Boisard, *L'Humanisme de l'Islam* (3rd. ed., Paris, 1985CE), 104–10.

3 al-Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 53–4, 69–70.

4 See above, 18, 21.

5 Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 355.

6 Suyūṭī, *Tadrib*, 215.

7 Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 353.

8 Maqqarī, *Nafh*, II, 96.

9 Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 430.

10 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 434f.

11 Ibid., XIV, 441–44.

12 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbār man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1351), V, 48; Ibn Khallikān, no. 413.

13 Maqqarī, *Nafh*, I, 876; cited in Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 366.

14 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 366. 'It is in fact very common in the *ijāza* of the transmission of the Bukhārī text to find as middle member of the long chain the name of Karima al-Marwaziyya', (ibid.).

15 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, I, 247.

16 *COPL*, VI, 98f.

17 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 366.

18 Ibn al-ʿImād, IV, 123, 248. Sitt al-Wuzarāʾ was also an eminent jurist. She was once invited to Cairo to give her *fatwā* on a subject that had perplexed the jurists there.

19 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (Cairo, 1301), X, 346.

20 Ibn Khallikān, no. 295.

21 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 367.

22 Ibn al-ʿImād, VI, 40.

23 Ibid., VIII, 14.

24 Ibn Sālim, *al-Imdād* (Hyderabad, 1327), 36.

25 Ibn al-ʿImād, IV, 100.

26 Ibn Sālim, 16.

27 Ibid., 28f.

28 Ibn al-ʿImād, VI, 56.

29 ibid., 126; Ibn Sālim, 14, 18; al-ʿUmari, *Qitf al-Thamar* (Hyderabad, 1328), 73.

30 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 407.

31 Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Rihla*, 253.

32 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, V, 140f.

33 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, 17f.

34 *COPL*, VI, 175f.

35 Ibn Khallikān, no. 250.

36 Ibn al-ʿImād, V, 212, 404.

37 Various manuscripts of this work have been preserved in libraries, and it has been published in Hyderabad in 1348–50. Volume VI of Ibn al-ʿImād's *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, a large biographical dictionary of prominent Muslim scholars from the first to the tenth centuries of the *hijra*, is largely based on this work.

38 Goldziher, accustomed to the exclusively male environment of nineteenth-century European universities, was taken aback by the scene depicted by Ibn Ḥajar. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 367: 'When reading the great biographical work of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī on the scholars of the eighth century, we may marvel at the number of women to whom the author has to dedicate articles.'

39 Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yan al-Mi'a al-Thāmina* (Hyderabad, 1348–50), I, no. 1472.

40 Ibn al-ʿImād, VII, 120f.

41 Ibid., VI, 208. We are told that al-ʿIrāqī (the best-known authority on the *ḥadīths* of Ghazālī's *Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*) ensured that his son also studied under her.

42 A summary by ʿAbd al-Salām and ʿUmar ibn al-Shammāʿ exists (C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, second ed. (Leiden, 1943–49CE), II, 34), and a defective manuscript of the work of the latter is preserved in the O.P. Library at Patna (COPL, XII, no. 727).

43 Ibid.

44 Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsīʿ* (Cairo, 1353–55), XII, no. 980.

45 Ibid., no. 58.

46 Ibid., no. 450.

47 Ibid., no. 901.

48 al-ʿAydārūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* (Baghdad, 1353), 49.

49 Ibn Abi Ṭāhir, see COPL, XII, no. 665ff.

50 Ibid.

51 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 407.

52 *al-Suḥub al-Wābila*, see COPL, XII, no. 785.

53 COPL, V/ii, 54.

54 Ibid., V/ii, 155–9, 180–208. For some particularly instructive annotated manuscripts preserved at the Zāhiriya Library at Damascus, see the article of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī in *al-Mabāhiṭh al-ʿIlmiyya* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Māʿarif, 1358), 1–14.

NOTES TO APPENDIX II

1 Pre-eminent among such undertakings was the preparation of the *Concordance and Indices of Muslim Tradition* (Leiden, 1936–88CE), which utilises the six canonical collections, together with the *Suman* of al-Dārimī, the *Muwattaʿ* of Imām Mālik and the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Hanbal. Originally planned by Wensinck, Horovitz and certain other orientalists, it was patronised by the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, and assisted by more than a dozen academies of research in Holland and elsewhere. The work was continued by de Haas, and assisted by Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī and others. Preparation began in 1916, and the first volume was published in 1936, the eighth and final volume (pertaining to proper names) appearing in 1988. The work lists all the important expressions occurring in the works mentioned above, in alphabetical order, the personal and place names being listed in the last volume. But although this monumental work is of considerable value, and has underpinned much recent research, it contains an unacceptably large proportion of errors (cf. Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīḥ*, 92–105). For this reason, a number of institutions such as al-Azhar in Cairo are now preparing computer-based substitutes, cross-checked by some of the world's greatest specialists in this field.

2 The best-known Orientalist names in this area are: A. Sprenger, E. E. Salisbury, O. V. Houdas, L. Krehl, I. Goldziher, T. W. Juynboll, J. Horowitz, A. J. Wensinck, and, more recently, J.

Schacht, J. Robson, N. Abbott, W. M. Watt, and G. H. A. Juynboll. The British scholar J. Robson and the American N. Abbott provide examples of Orientalists who are inclined to accept the traditional picture of *ḥadīth* genesis, while Goldziher and Schacht represent a more sceptical approach. For an account of the early development of *ḥadīth* scholarship in the West, see D. G. Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam Literatur* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923CE); for more recent works see von Denffer, Ahmad, *Literature on Ḥadīth in European Languages* (Leicester, 1981CE).

3 Cited in R. Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and his Oriental Diary* (Detroit, 1987CE), 29. This book represents the first English publication of Goldziher's travel diary, and offers a fascinating insight into the psychological makeup of a certain type of Orientalist scholar.

4 Cited in Patai, 20.

5 Reading his bilious and xenophobic diaries gives one a clue to understanding why this dismissive and contemptuous theory should have appealed to his brain. He decides, for instance, that Wallachia can be dismissed as 'the primal home of all physical and moral dirt, of all bodily and psychic imperfection' (cited in Patai, 87). Istanbul is 'the great Jew-town of the Muslims' (Patai, 96; he appears to have intended this as an insult); while the American missionary efforts in Syria were 'an insolence of which only Christianity, the most abominable of all religions, is capable' (Patai, 21).

6 Among the most enthusiastic proponents of Goldziher's theories were Protestant missionaries like Samuel Zwemer and Temple Gairdner.

7 Sprenger, 'Notes on Alfred von Kremer's edition of Wakidi's Campaigns,' (JASB XXV, 53-74), 62. Proof of this contention has been supplied more recently by Abbott, *Studies*, I, 24.

8 Sprenger, 'On the Origins,' 303-29 and 375-81.

9 Abbott, *Studies*, II, 2.

10 Ibid.; Azami, *Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 301-5.

11 J. Fück, 'Die Rolle des Traditionismus im Islam,' (ZDMG XCIII (1939), 1-32), 17; cf. Robson, *The Isnād in Muslim Tradition* (reprinted from *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* XV (1965), 15-26), 26.

12 Ibid.; Abbott, *Studies*, II, 5-32.

13 Cf. for instance, the famous *Ta'wīl Mukhtaṭaṭ al-Ḥadīth* (Interpretation of Variant Ḥadīths) by Ibn Qutayba (d.276/889). (Beirut, n.d.)

14 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 56.

15 Guillaume, *Traditions*, 78.

16 Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, I, 281.

17 Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'* (with *Tuhfa*), II, 350.

18 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 44.

19 Guillaume, *Traditions*, 47-8.

20 Fück, 'Rolle', 23f. Cf. Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 502-16, for some aspects of Goldziher's position here.

21 Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 127.

22 Guillaume, *Traditions*, 78f.

23 See above, 113-5.

24 Sibā'ī, *al-Sunna wa-Makānatuhā*, 365-420.

25 al-Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 249-54.

26 Schacht, *Introduction*, 19.

27 Juynboll, 3-4.

28 S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1965CE), 129-30.

29 Ibid., 133. For all this, see Azami, *On Schacht's Origins*, 15-18.

30 Coulson, 'European Criticism', 319; see also his *History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh, 1964CE), 64-5.

31 Robson, 'Standards Applied by Muslim Traditionists', 460; cf. also above, 132.

32 See in particular her objections to Schacht's views on 'family isnāds': *Studies*, II, 36-9.

33 'An Arabic Papyrus in the Oriental Institute: Stories of the Prophets,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* V (1946CE), 169-80.

34 'Ḥadīth Literature—II: Collection and Transmission of Ḥadīth'. *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* I (Cambridge, 1983CE), 289-98.

35 Abbott, *Studies*, II, 1.

36 Ibid., II, 77-8.

37 Ibid., I, 6-7; I, 26.

38 Ibid., I, 16.

39 Ibid., I, 18, 19; II, 22-32.

40 Ibid., II, 2; cf. II, 64,

41 Lahore: 1960-5.

42 *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition, being Al-Madkhal ilā ma'rifat al-Iklīl* by Al-Ḥākim Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Naisābūrī. (London, 1953CE).

43 'Ibn Ishaq's Use of Isnād', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXVIII:2 (March 1965), 449-65; 'Muslim Traditions—the Question of Authenticity,' *Memoirs and Proceedings, Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, XCIII (1951), no.7; 'The Isnād in Muslim Tradition,' *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, XV (1965), pp.15-26; 'Standards Applied by Muslim Traditionists,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* XLIII:2 (1961), 459-79.

44 Cf. for instance, 'Standards Applied', 460.

45 In G. H. A. Juynboll (ed.), *Papers on Islamic History. Studies on the first century of Islamic society* (Carbondale, 1982CE), 161-75.

46 Cambridge, 1983CE.

47 Juynboll, 8.

48 Ibid., 7.

49 Ibid., 6; cf. Abbott, II, 69. This scepticism is not shared by G. Makdisi in his updated and enlarged version of J. Pedersen's *EL* article 'Madrasa': he accepts the existence of classes of this size without comment (*EL*², V, 1133).

50 Some of Shaykh Fādānī's public *ṣamā'* sessions, delivered complete with *musalsal isnāds*, were recorded on videotape. Copies of this are in the possession of many of his students in Mecca.

51 Ibid. 5. *Faḍā'il* and *mathālib* are literary accounts describing respectively the virtues or vices of a given individual, tribe or place.

52 Ibid. 12.

53 Ibid., 13.

54 Chapter Four.

55 Arberry, 'The Teachers of Al-Bukhārī', 35.

56 The *Tabdhīb al-Kamāl* is itself an epitome of an enormous book called *al-Kamāl fi Asmā' al-Rijāl* by 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (d.600/1204), whose sources are

meticulously specified; Ibn Hajar, after noting this relationship, also mentions his indebtedness to the *Ikmal Tahdhib al-Kamal* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Mughlaṭai (d.762/1360), who had augmented Mizzi's work with material from his own sources (*Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, I, 8). For the relationship between these and other works deriving from the *Kamāl*, with a detailed description of al-Mizzi's book, see Ṭaḥḥān, *Takhrīj*, 181–98. Clearly, it is not Ibn Hajar's abbreviation which is 'the most complete list of *ḥadīth* transmitters' (Juynboll,

135), but the earlier work of al-Maqdisī. Cf. also Khaṭīb, *Sunna*, 270–1, 272–73.

57 Ibid., 135.

58 Ibid., 207.

59 The School of Oriental and African Studies, a faculty of London University, still displays the Baconian motto 'Knowledge is Power' on its publications—a faded imperial conceit which until recently would have seemed out of place at Princeton or Chicago.

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

1 Loth, 'Ursprung,' 611

2 Leipzig, 1869CE.

3 Loth, 'Ursprung,' 593–614

4 See above, 99.

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